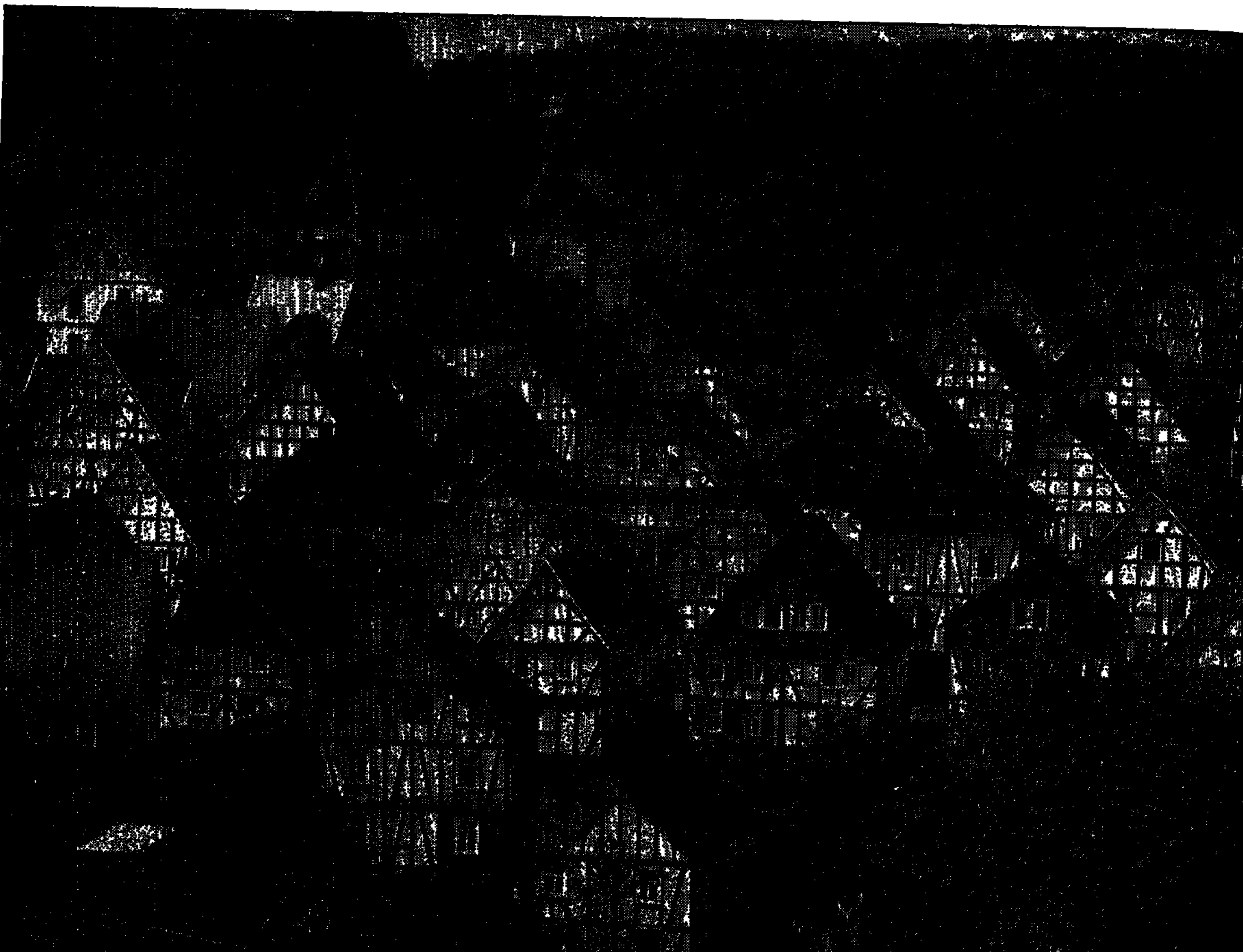
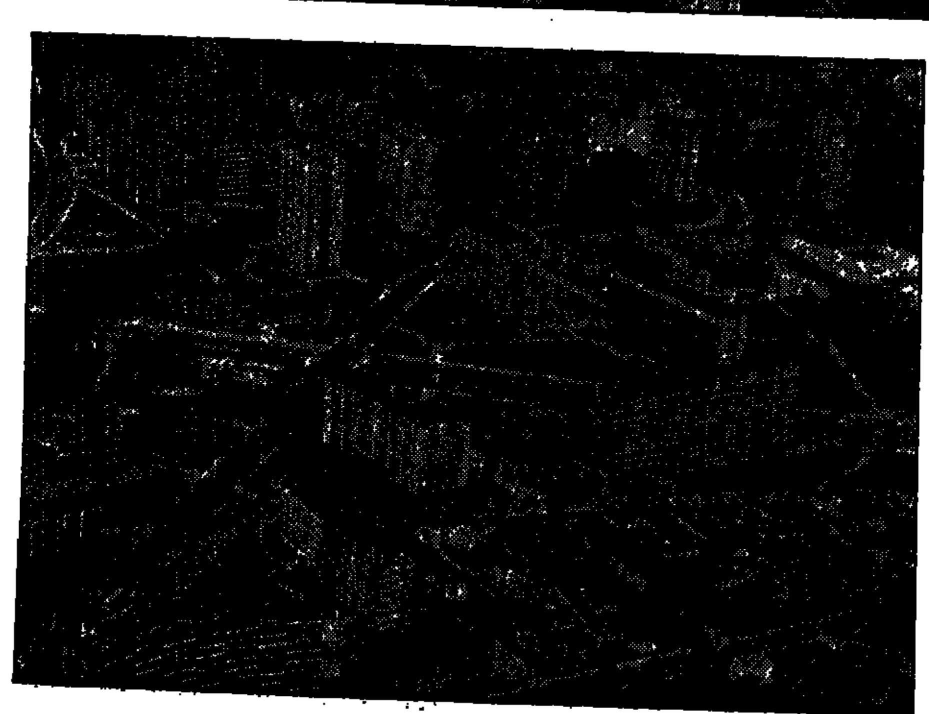
Germany's towns and cities





Freudenberg

Berlin

The German Tribune

29 November 1981
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Kremlin chief comes to see how the land lies

DIE ZEIT

...y before his 75th birthday Leo... Brezhnev paid Bonn his third ... less than a decade. His previous ... in 1973 and 1978.

...1973 he toured the city in ..., as a visionary, inviting the ... to do business in Siberia.

... they had at last accepted the ... there were two Germanies he ... the prospect of contracts that ... span entire generations.

...1978 Mr Brezhnev, an older and ... man, sought support for his ...ing Westpolitik.

...third time round Bonn was the ...tern capital to host the Soviet ... the Red Army invaded ...

...any respects Mr Brezhnev's Bonn ... aimed at public opinion in the ... as a whole, at Western govern... and Western peace movements.

...ow's aging head of state and ...ader went to the trouble of tra... even at this time of the year. ... a sign of strength or weakness ... Soviet Union's part?

...why was Bonn given the honour ... presence? Was it its specific ..., firmly anchored, in the West? Or ...oscow hoping Bonn might part ...y with the West?

... Federal Republic of Germany is ...rland where new medium-range ...iles are, by the terms of the De... 1979 Nato resolution, to be sta... if negotiations fail.

... has also been manoeuvred into ...ial position by contradictory ...ents from the Reagan administra...

... more often the abstruse and see... irreconcilable pronouncements of ... White House, the State Department ... Pentagon worry and upset Wes... Europe, the more often America's ... partners in Brussels will look to ... to see how it assesses the situa...

... in the military debate between ... superpowers Bonn has assumed an ...ected role as a result of the long ... of Washington from world ...

... Soviet Union is merely being true ... traditions by double dealing with a ... that has come to be the major ... of both superpowers.

... Kremlin would like Bonn both to ... company with the United States ... reforge Soviet links with Amer...

... is such a self-evident contradiction that it leaves clear and obvious leeway for responsible activity, yet for months opinion-makers in this country have stirred up artificial hysteria.

Some commentators even feel calls for peace and security jeopardise the Western alliance.

The Cold War, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* sadly recalled, had at least enabled people "to understand what was being said and to think and act accordingly."

Others feel Mr Brezhnev is alone in worrying about peace being in danger and, like Rudolf Augstein, the proprietor of *Der Spiegel*, the Hamburg news weekly, would like to see the West make unilateral concessions as a token of good will.

Bonn has benefited more than most from the policy of detente, so much so that it can no longer afford to make further unilateral concessions.

A mere 13 years ago Bonn's non-acceptance of the GDR blocked talks with Moscow and threatened to isolate the Federal Republic in a West that was otherwise predisposed towards detente.

Only a few years later none other than Helmut Schmidt warned the United States not to place inordinately naive hopes in detente.

It was at the Munich conference on military affairs in 1971. As Defence Minister in Bonn he was critical of cuts in US defence spending and the abolition of conscription.

Bonn's role increased in importance as the Americans were steadily more disappointed and the Russians proved steadily more deceitful.

Moscow ruthlessly exploited each and every weakness on Washington's part but was caught, in the process, in a dilemma between regional and global interests.

Yet the 1970 Moscow treaty with Bonn proved more than equal to the strain to which it was subjected, and Berlin did not reappear among the world's hot spots.

Bonn's moderating influence on international affairs peak in 1980, when Helmut Schmidt's visit to Moscow got the superpowers back on the speaking terms.

Nato's deploy-and-negotiate resolution, previously an obstacle to talks, provided the first and so far only leverage for negotiations. So faor Bonn and its ties with Moscow the comment made by Mr Allen, President Reagan's national security adviser, cannot be endorsed. Detente, he said, had been a complete failure. In the European view such funeral dirges merely bear out what William Pfaff wrote in the *Herald Tribune*. Nato today, he wrote, is

Continued on page 2



A lot to talk about . . . Brezhnev and Schmidt in Bonn.
(Photo: Poly-Press)

Reagan deal strengthens Schmidt's hand

Nothing would be a greater mistake than to imagine that President Reagan's disarmament proposals to the Russians might change the world over night. There is certainly no way in which they will alleviate European nuclear anxiety.

Yet the President's proposals, and his declaration of readiness to reduce to zero if possible the number of medium-range missiles based by both sides in Europe, mark a new quality in the security and peace debate.

In the wake of a number of confusing comments by high-ranking US officials, including Mr Reagan himself, about a nuclear warning shot or a limited nuclear strike an entirely different President Reagan has emerged.

He has called on world opinion to witness his commitment to disarmament as his policy aim, and in so doing he has done more than just clarify matters.

It is now up to Mr Brezhnev to say what he really wants.

It is no surprise that Moscow has chosen to dismiss the US offer with alacrity as a mere propaganda trick and to insinuate that the Americans want to establish nuclear supremacy by the back door, as it were.

This is Kremlin strategy of the kind with which we are all familiar, but it would seem reasonable to assume that Mr Brezhnev flew to Bonn with mixed feelings as a result.

He already knew what President Reagan had in mind from what the President had previously proposed to him in writing. But now the world at large knew what Mr Reagan had suggested and would be expecting Mr Brezhnev to outline in detail in his talks with Herr Schmidt what he had to say in reply.

By virtue of President Reagan's proposals Chancellor Schmidt was able to enter into talks with the Soviet leader greatly strengthened.

His hand was also strengthened in dealing with fellow-Social Democrats and non-SPD members of the peace movement who saw disarmament salvation in unilateral Western moves: a zero option that would be nothing of the kind.

The zero option Washington and Bonn have in mind would entail the West abandoning missile modernisation using new US devices on condition that the Soviet Union scrapped its SS-20 missiles aimed at targets in Western Europe.

This, one is bound to admit, would be an ideal solution it will be difficult to accomplish. The Soviet Union envisages a zero at an entirely different point.

Moscow would like at all cost to retain the arms build-up it has already undertaken, but at the Geneva conference table it will have to be cards down at some stage or other.

In many ways the cards are already on the table, with President Reagan having led his highest trump.

Hans Stollhans

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 20 November 1981)

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RS

...ar war: can it be limited?

Could nuclear war be limited, say to Europe? America and Russia disagree. President Reagan says he could imagine the two sides being deterred from launching a full-scale strategic nuclear attack if tactical theatre nuclear weapons had already been used. President Brezhnev says there can be no 'limited' nuclear war. Once nuclear hostilities begin, in Europe or elsewhere, the war would inevitably, irrevocably assume a worldwide character. Four-star General Gerd Schmückle, deputy supreme commander of Nato until last year, here gives Welt am Sonntag his views on the subject.

Both heads of government are right, in their own way, I believe. Mr Brezhnev was talking in terms of deterrence, which naturally includes all options, up to and including the hydrogen bomb, as a means of preventing war.

Mr Reagan was referring to the possibility of the deterrent failing to deter, in which case nuclear hostilities ought to be brought to a halt at the lowest possible level.

America has succeeded in reverting to a global strategy, whereas Nato strategy is geographically limited. It remains to be seen what influence global strategy will have on Nato strategy and vice-versa.

There is no reason why people should be alarmed by this state of affairs, although it would naturally be better if Nato were to join in the debate.

Contradictory though US statements may seem to be, they are no less contradictory than comments by German politicians must seem to be from an American point of view.

The strategy of massive retaliation was a unique period in the history of Nato, but is now history.

It was very good for Europe, being based on global US nuclear supremacy. But this supremacy no longer exists and, in my opinion, it has gone for good.

The nuclear threshold was very, very low. I cannot imagine future strategy ever reaching such a low threshold.

Setting up the range of deterrence is a tough, complex, ongoing task at which we must persevere. Let us assume the deterrent failed to deter.

Were this to happen, the US President would naturally alone decide whether or not nuclear weapons were to be used. This would not, of course, apply to the British or French deterrents.

The supreme commander, Allied powers Europe, an American, would say what he felt was necessary. His recommendation would go straight to the US President and the North Atlantic Council.

This Nato council has only a consultative role, but although that is not enough and ought to be improved, it is at least a say in the decision.

There would certainly be enough time in which to consult with the US President, although I am far from sure how long it might take the 15 member-countries of the North Atlantic Council to reach a decision on such a momentous subject.

If there were a war, no-one, neither the US President nor the Soviet head of government, can tell whether it could be brought to a halt at a low level.

Where nuclear was is concerned I am not an optimist. I also fear that a war, once it had begun with the use of nuclear weapons in Europe, would tend to escalate fast in view of the short notice of impending strikes.

In the nuclear age the teleprinter link between Washington and Moscow, popularly known as the red telephone between the White House and the Kremlin, would naturally be operational.

So it should be, to prevent the disaster of war and, failing that, to limit it.

I cannot imagine nuclear war spreading to Europe from a conflict anywhere else in the world. That would only be possible if the other part of the world were of such immense importance to America and Russia as to be comparable with that of Europe.

The danger is no longer as serious as it was before the First World War, when a spark from the Balkans ignited a powder keg that blew up all Europe.

The nuclear deterrent is one reason why the risk is no longer as acute as it then was.

Vietnam deters the Americans from running any such risks and Afghanistan, or so I should imagine, currently deters the Russians from doing so.

Countries on whose soil nuclear weapons, especially medium-range missiles, are based ought to have a greater say in their deployment.

I could envisage a crisis Cabinet meeting: not an organisation, just one Minister, a man enjoying the greatest confidence of Nato heads of government.

He would sit in the same room as the US President once the nuclear decision-making began. He could then advise the President on European interests and such national interests as might predominate.

Now that nuclear launching systems are based in Europe we have gained a first insight into US planning objectives and are, for the first time ever, in a position to exert influence on US nuclear policy as a whole.

This is a major and dramatic step forward as far as Europe is concerned. What we have yet to succeed in gaining is a say in the final process of decision.

One advantage we have is that the British and German deputies to the supreme Allied commander in Europe can advise the American C-in-C when a nuclear requisition is submitted to the US President and the North Atlantic Council.

No-one can say when the Americans might be prepared to escalate into the range of nuclear was options. Nato has no hard-and-fast programmes that automatically escalate.

We decide in accordance with the given situation and the given situation determines the means of warfare selected for use.

I am convinced the Americans will stand by their commitments to Europe; they have done so in the past.

A much more critical point is whether the Europeans are going to stand by their commitments to America or, to put it better, to the North Atlantic pact.

I take a very sceptical view given the current trend, which is based in part on the depressed state of the economy.

Without a doubt it is also based, however, on a shortfall of political earnest in a number of Nato countries. They are short on the will to do what, as it were, the Warsaw Pact forces on us.

I can only hope that the Europeans will come to appreciate their responsibilities.

Gerd Schmückle

(Welt am Sonntag, 15 November 1981)

Brezhnev sees how the land lies

Continued from page 1

jeopardised more by Washington than by Moscow.

How does Moscow assess Bonn's role? The Soviet Union, unlike America, does not engage in dialogue on a basis of equality with its allies, while in the West Moscow is no longer talking with anyone really.

The only Western politicians with whom the Kremlin is still on speaking terms are Helmut Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West's longest-serving head of government and Foreign Minister respectively.

Ties with the Bonn coalition are hard hit politically, yet Moscow behaves as though relations with the Social and Free Democrats in Bonn were a lasting example to be followed even when times are hard.

Does this perhaps mean that the Kremlin attaches absolute priority to enticing Bonn to defect from the West? Probably not.

By virtue of its arms build-up and its late colonial self-service in countries ranging from Angola to Afghanistan the Soviet Union has only itself to blame for its ties of old with the Western world all but going by the board.

That is why the Kremlin today (and its leaders have always tended to be on the cautious side) is no longer in a position to calculate the risks its policy entails.

If Russia were to aim exclusively at encouraging peace movements and at softening up the Federal Republic of Germany, the gap between it and America would grow even wider and the old balance of power would be put fully out of joint.

The Russians are more firmly fixated on the Americans than the Europeans are, and this is likely to remain the case. They need American grain shipments and are afraid of America's alarming potential for military innovations.

Bonn faces the tough task of putting this Soviet interest to good use for arms control purpose and of continually urging the two superpowers to practice moderation.

Mr Brezhnev's visit presented an opportunity of so doing. Chancellor Schmidt had to try and make it clear to his Soviet visitors that in America, as in Russia, propaganda was currently determining the course of politics, and not vice-versa.

This makes it more difficult and confusing for America to learn its lesson which, despite flexing its verbal muscles, Washington is clearly willing to do.

Herr Schmidt will have been able to tell the Soviet leaders from personal experience that President Reagan is willing and able to listen.

A number of other leading members of the Reagan administration are likewise willing to give arguments a fair hearing.

The Chancellor will have told Mr Brezhnev that neither of them have much time left in which to avert a total breakdown of arms control talks.

With an eye on the Geneva talks between the superpowers on medium-range missiles he will have called for a quantifiable interim result, for Moscow to state clearly where it would stand until summer 1983.

If it failed to do so, Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles would inevitably be deployed in Europe, a development that could only be forestalled by a swingeing cut in the number of Soviet SS-20 ... siles stationed in Europe.

The Geneva talks, Herr Schmidt ... have failed to point out, are the ... means by which missile modern... can still be brought to a halt.

But how seriously will the K... take this warning? Moscow will ... military compromises, but only ... Washington responds politically ... acknowledges the basic principles of ... logue and parity.

If America fails to do so, the G... talks cannot be expected to make ... way either next year or the year afte...

Missile modernisation is unlike... get under way in the West before ... given the delays that have aris... Cruise missile test schedules.

Britain is due to start allowing ... missiles to be deployed in Europ... resistance, led by the Labour Party, ... ready gaining momentum.

1984 is likely to be an election y... Britain. It will be one in Germany ... America too, and even in the U... States the peace movement is reg... lost ground.

The Soviet Union could deal mi... modernisation plans an even more ... blow if it were to offer bo... moratorium on the deployment ... medium-range missiles and a unil... part withdrawal of SS-20 missiles.

But Moscow is not given to m... prior concessions of any substance ... pecially in advance of the Geneva ... So the value of Mr Brezhnev's vi... Bonn was not to be measured in ... of what the communique proclaim...

Not even the gas-for-pipelines ... major contract Helmut Schmidt ... defend until the last minute again... objections, is a far cry from the ... Mr Brezhnev conjured back in 1973.

Economic cooperation remains ... security policy. The investment Mo... needs to ensure long-term energy ... ies needs to ensure long-term ... supplies with the aid of Western ... nology will prove impossible unle... military balance in Europe is struck ... low a level as possible.

Whiskey 137, the Soviet subma... stranded off Sweden, drastically red... Scandinavian interest in a nuclear... zone just before Mr Brezhnev's visi... Bonn.

This incident demonstrated only ... well that Moscow's prospects in Eu... will remain strictly limited as long ... does not show willing to practise ... eration.

Yet were it not for the firm ties ... tween Bonn and the Kremlin Eu... would stand no chance whatever of ... taining the benefits derived from ... tente.

Christian Schmidt-Häu...

(Die Zeit, 20 November ...)

The German Tribune

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POLITICS

Despondency in Bonn as coalition wonders when time will run out

...mood in the Bonn SPD/FDP ... is a blend of resignation and ... The feeling that the coali... ...ll not remain at the helm too ... widespread.

... is hardly anyone in the coali... ...o is not seriously pondering the ... ...spite the Chancellor's public de... ...tion to stick to his guns.

... are two consequences of this ... One is the effect on the media, ... resultant effect of the media on ...

...ther is the effect on the nation's ...

... the media: the 1976 election ... by the coalition (it was very ... because most journalists had anti... that it would happen that way, ... to Allensbach research experts. ... said that this anticipation had ... caused the victory.

... was, of course, somewhat ex... ...ed and was rebutted at the time ... head of that institute, Professor ... Neumann – primarily because ... ...lysis was used by the CDU to ... the press.

...journalists are subject to subcons... ...elements such as expectations, ...ensions and hopes, all of which ... in what they write.

... second consequence goes far ... the destiny of the coalition. It is ... on the nation's economy.

... disputes the fact that, in ... to American and German inter... ...s and oil prices, there is a psy... ...ical factor that has greatly ... ...uted to stagnation in Germany.

...ertainty reigns supreme: when will ... ...erest rates go down? What are the ... unions up to? Will the govern... introduce a job-generating pro... ...? Will the government face one ... "worst winters since 1945" ... twiddling its thumbs? When ... CDU/CSU take over in Bonn?

... with such uncertainties, the bu... community as a whole will think ... before investing.

...stocktaking of the mood thus ... that one of the most important ... in fighting the stagnation is to ... psychological impulses. And this ... come from government action.

... are two possibilities: The go... ...nt could declare itself incapable ... ...mmoning courage for the future" ... ...ment policy statement in 1980) ... ...e instilling such courage in the ...

... result, it would have to stake ... ...ing on the optimism-promoting ... of an immediate change of guard ...

... would be a pretty original and ... heroic contribution to the in... ...nts of economic policy. But ... it would do any good would ... to be seen. In any event, the ... purely academic because the ... will never contemplate such a ... sacrifice.

...other possibility would be for the ... to prove its political determina... ... stay at the helm and to explain ... deeper meaning it sees in doing so. ...ybody knows that the government ... that it has amply proved itself in ... to foreign policy and that it views ... mandate to stay in power.

... indeed, the political commitment to détente and the Chancellor's and his foreign minister's routine in international affairs are an important asset which even critics cannot overlook when striking a balance.

There is hardly another Western government whose top politicians have as much experience in East-West relations. And in view of the continued confusion in America's foreign policy this is an asset which the peace movement underestimates.

The question as to what good a continued SPD/FDP government would do for the labour market is not so easy to answer. The warning that comes from Britain and the consequences of Thatcherism in that country loses its deterrent effect the more the government – along with the opposition – deplores the abuse and excesses of the social security system and the more it makes austerity an end in itself, letting it go at lamenting the bad times and hoping for better ones.

Trade unions, spurred by their angry grassroots, react grimly. They are becoming increasingly militant: 70,000 demonstrated in Stuttgart recently.

A trade union march on Bonn would in fact make the 10 October peace demonstration look like a Sunday stroll.

So how could the Schmidt/Genscher government still demonstrate its will to survive and its remaining energy and tenacity?

The first psychological signal would have to come from a reshuffle of the cabinet.

Since Schmidt seems determined to stay at the head of the government, any speculation involving him would be futile. Still, from the coalition vantage point there are sound reasons for both his staying in government and his turning the reins over soon to Johannes Rau or Hans Jochen Vogel.

There are enough candidates to make a cabinet reshuffle on a major scale feasible.

But such a reshuffle would only make sense if it were more than just a reform in the personnel sector; in other words, if it were to pave the way for a review of the dogmatic austerity course of Matthöfer and Lambsdorff.

The government is naturally not in a position to join forces with the business community and so create a million new jobs as demanded by Heinz Oskar Vetter, the chairman of the Trade Union Federation (DGB).

But the government can take the initiative in creating jobs, as for instance by promoting the introduction of shorter working times.

On the question of flexible retirement age, the government could ensure socially acceptable conditions for workers who want to make use of early retirement.

Target-oriented employment measures remain a politically delicate business. *But considering the situation on the la*bour market, even the FDP can no longer afford to resist action in this sector.

For instance: an investment offensive for the protection of the environment (forest rehabilitation, for one).

If the government were to embark on such action it would probably also be able to come up with financing methods other than additional borrowing (for instance: a special levy).

The trade unions, in their turn, would probably be willing to touch upon their old social affairs tabus if this were necessary within the framework of a sweeping employment programme.

In conjunction with such measures, the government would have to intensify its political discussion with the Bundesbank. Waiting for lower interest rates is seen as the greatest obstacle to investment right now.

The annual economic report at the beginning of 1982 is supposed to give some information on the future stance of the Social/Liberal coalition.

And a look at the political timetable for next year shows that this would be the very last chance for the SPD/FDP coalition.

There are four State elections next year – two of major national importance: in Hamburg and Hesse.

The way things stand today, Schmidt could well topple along with Holger Börner over the issue of the additional Frankfurt airport runway in the autumn of 1982.

Though all this is speculation, one thing is certain: if the coalition continues its paralysed wait-and-see policy it will not last another year.

The question of where the blame lies would then be the only one of some interest. In any event, the mourning will not be excessive.

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 22 November 1981)

Unions' strong resistance to economies

The trade union strategy against Bonn's austerity measures does not come as a surprise.

What is unexpected, however, is the vehemence of the attack not only against the FDP but, for the first time, also against the Social Democrats.

The SPD has always been close to the unions.

This disenchantment at union grassroots was clearly demonstrated at the mammoth demonstration in Stuttgart when the district head of the Metalworkers Union, Franz Steinkühler, earned himself a storm of applause when he called for employment-promoting measures.

The response was so overwhelming as to make it almost redundant for Metalworkers boss Eugen Loderer to announce further union action should continued pay in case of illness or unemployment benefits be pared down.

Things are clearly happening in this country; more so than is visible on the surface and probably of a worse nature than evidenced by union demonstrations.

All four aims of our stability and growth laws have been violated: we neither have a balanced foreign trade nor do we have adequate economic growth, price stability or full employment.

It is little use to say, as the Chancellor and his finance minister have been doing, that we are better off than our neighbours in Western Europe and the USA.

And as to the workers and employers, they have been paralysed by government helplessness and inactivity.

So it is not surprising that the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) now says "so far and no further."

But this must not be seen as a declaration of war or even as an implacable response by organised labour. Though this has not been expressly voiced, the unions are prepared to go along with the austerity measures as they stand right now.

And at least as far as the unions are concerned, these measures are no peanuts: those who quiet their jobs will have to wait longer before getting dole money; no unemployment benefits for those who have not paid into the fund; cutbacks in vocational rehabilitation programmes; abolition of provisions whereby those earning less than DM390 are not subject to social security contributions; reduction of child allowances; and 6,000 fewer posts in the civil service – to mention but a few of the most important cutbacks.

The budget cuts affect the working population to the tune of DM10bn.

And it is still not certain that this will be enough. Since our social security system is based on stable development, further cutbacks will become necessary unless there is growth.

But whether these cutbacks must be made by whittling away at unemployment benefits and at continued salaries during illness, as called for by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff remains to be seen.

It should be possible to economise elsewhere.

It is therefore not surprising that the chairman of the DGB, Heinz Oskar Vetter, has called on all economically relevant social groups to meet.

An initial talk between the Chancellor, the trade unions, the business community and the Bundesbank has meanwhile taken place.

Let us hope that future discussions of this nature will produce more than just ritualised exercises in presenting the respective positions of the opposing parties as has so frequently happened.

Prospects are not bad. For one thing, these talks, in the Chancellor's bungalow, are in private. For another, Herr Vetter has already said that the unions would be prepared to make concessions that will be painful provided the other side does the same.

This means that the trade unions will put up with a loss in real income for the workers if the government agrees to take steps to reduce unemployment.

There is a good reason for making the Bundesbank take part in these talks. The central bank has been called upon by the unions and by parts of the government to reduce the interest rates.

Though this would not automatically engender an upswing, lower interest rates would reduce the burden on business and provide investment incentives.

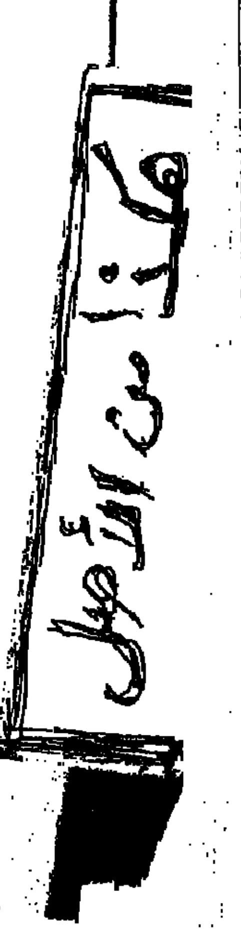
Ultimately, the success of any such measures will also depend on the discipline of the business community.

It would have to exercise price restraint as a precondition for lower wage deals. Working hour must be shortened.

If trade unions, employers and the Bundesbank agree on this kind of crisis management it would serve as a positive signal.

Anton Hunger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 November 1981)



■ HOME AFFAIRS

Runway issue raises basic questions

There is much more at stake than 500 acres of woodland near Frankfurt: that was made obvious from the television pictures of police acting against demonstrators opposed to a new runway for the international airport.

Television carried scenes that looked like civil war: policemen wielding batons against people already clubbed almost unconscious, people who a few moments before had thrown Molotov cocktails at the police.

What is at stake here is fundamental to a democratic society. It raises questions about the relationship between minority groups and the majority; and what means are appropriate in pursuing political aims.

There are two opposing camps: those who stress the legality of the authorities' actions and those who deny this legality.

The group favouring the additional runway argues: The decision-making process has been dragging on for one-and-a-half decades; the state parliament has approved the project and the courts have repeatedly upheld the decision.

Anybody who now yields to pressure from the street and to violence creates a dangerous precedent. In the end, it must become impossible to govern because a militant minority can always be found.

A state in which any mini-group can say "no" to a project and in which the government, notwithstanding its majority in the legislature, can no longer assert itself becomes ungovernable.

The opponents of the runway see it differently: in their view, purely formal legalities suppress justice in Frankfurt.

They regard the expansion of the airport as a crime against the environment ("mother nature is being killed by father state").

The runway has thus become the symbol of resistance against an all-powerful technology — resistance that turns into a rebellion against the state of law and order. This state is simply labelled a "police state" which the opponents of the runway threaten with an "ecological civil war." They are bent on making Frankfurt airport a precedent for the republic as a whole.

Neither of the two camps is free of blame. True, the Hesse government can fall back on the legislators' decision and on court rulings. It has legality on its side.

But did the government adequately take into account that public consciousness has changed in the past years? Has it really done everything to inform and convince the public — as for instance through a large public hearing along the lines of the Gorleben hearing?

Do the members and followers of the government not too obviously have doubts about the correctness of their decision (and perhaps even a bad conscience) to permit them now to adopt an unyielding attitude of self-righteousness?

Above all: Holger Börner's government has created the impression — even among his followers — that he wants to put the public before a fait accompli before the one constitutional possibility, i.e. a referendum, has run its course.

Why? Either the people vote in favour of the government (and 60 per cent are said to be in favour of the additional runway) or they don't. If they do, a delay of a few months would hardly matter and Börner could face the public with the mandate of the people behind him. This would enable him to go ahead even if this entailed using the full clout of the government.

Should the referendum go against him, the concrete fence around the site would have been erected for nothing and the woods would have been chopped down to no purpose.

But the way things stand it appears as if the opponents are to be denied their constitutional right; and this in turn casts a poor light on our democracy.

Of course, the opponents of the runway are not without blame either. The Wiesbaden demonstration and the handing over of 220,000 signatures in favour of a referendum was democracy in an exemplary fashion. But the ultimatum to the government, the call for a blockade of the airport and the squatting on the nearby motorway demonstrate the hubris of zealots carried away by the fact that they have managed to rally hundreds of thousands of people.

The experience of mass power has evidently led them into believing that they speak for the majority and into taking the law into their own hands.

If a civil servant were to do the same, he would be faced with a public prosecutor's action — as has happened in Frankfurt.

The late realisation on the part of the citizens' initiative that its action has got out of hand cannot undo the riots and the bloodshed in their wake.

So what now? The most important thing is to defuse the situation. The conflict must be prevented from escalating into a civil war. The Wiesbaden government could, for instance, desist from using legalities to stop the referendum; and it could suspend the cutting down of the woods and commencement of construction until the people have had their say.

In return, the opponents of the runway could undertake to suspend demonstrations pending a final outcome. Those who nevertheless take to the streets to riot would then forfeit the right to be treated with kid gloves.

Pending the referendum, there should be an all-out dialogue and information campaign, but no confrontation.

Both sides should undertake to abide by the referendum — regardless of its outcome.



In the final analysis, upholding the constitution is more important than any decision on a specific issue, and there is a point when the full power of authority may be used to safeguard this constitutional order.

Law and justice are not what the most vociferous of rioters would have us believe. They express themselves in the consensus of the majority, although minorities must have their chance to influence the course of things.

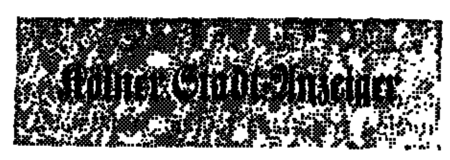
It is the duty of politicians to implement the majority decision even if this does not suit their concept — and not only in committee meetings and the corridors of power but also in full view of the public.

In a democracy, the authority of law needs the backing of the citizens. And the use of force is no way of achieving this. And this goes for both the power of the state and that of its critics.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, 20 November 1981)

City is divided as youth club case comes to court



Ten people are being tried on charges of disturbing the peace in Nuremberg.

The charges arise out of incidents on the evening of March 5 and the following morning.

First there was a demonstration against the proposed closure of a youth club known as Komm, during which DM20,000 of damage was caused, mostly to shop windows and car aerials.

Police then raided the club and arrested 172. Some were quickly released but 141 were detained on warrant, some for days, on the ground that they might remove evidence and disappear.

The whole affair is an emotional one and has split the city of Nuremberg into two camps.

Most of the population supports the police action.

But there is a big minority which talks about a scandal. It argues that the mass arrests were out of proportion to the damage and says that many of those held were unconnected with the demonstration.

Subsequently, proceedings against 59 were dropped.

A seemingly unimportant incident shows how unsuited Nuremberg, a provincial metropolis, is for such a trial that could become a precedent case: court room 619 that has been chosen for the trial can accommodate only 75 spectators, and 30 of these seats have been allocated to journalists from all parts of the country.

It is obvious that the courtroom will be crowded to capacity; and even the parents of the accused might find themselves without a seat. Says the mother of one of them: "We'll have to queue up at the crack of dawn — and even then we'll be lucky if we get in."

The parents have demanded that the trial be held in room 600, which is larger and would accommodate more spectators.

But the court has rejected this for understandable reasons: this is the room where the Nuremberg war crimes trials were held, and nobody wants to create a link between a simple trial for disturbing the peace and war crimes.

Only three days before the trial was due to begin a citizens' action group calling itself "Citizens' Initiative 5 March for Basic Rights and Democracy" organised a rally that was attended by 600.

They carried placards that clearly showed that the ultimate objective was more than just justice for the accused. Some of the placards read: "It is the right to demonstrate that is on trial."

Another, more aggressive slogan read: "We cannot force the pigs to tell the truth; but we can force them to lie even more brazenly."

A police officer said this was defamation and demanded the removal of the placard.

Eye witness reports are conflicting, policemen say that the objectionable placard was rolled up. But the citizens' initiative says that an agreement had been reached with the police to cut out the word "pigs" and that this was done.

Half an hour later, a group of policemen seized the carrier of the pl and took him to police headquarten

The demonstrators split and a of about 150 to 200 marched to th tion where they demanded his i release.

A head-on clash seemed immine a while, but eventually the situatio laxed a bit and police and demonst accused each other of provocation. was the end of this incident.

The Citizens' Initiative 5 March organised by the accused, their p and lawyers becase they felt that was the only way they could ac something against the all-powerfu diciary.

The fact is that the individual ac and his family are at a disadvan Since a lawyer may defend only client there were not enough lawye the whole of Bavaria who were wi to take on the cases and some fam had to seek legal counsel from a away as Hamburg.

Nobody knows how long the first will take. It could be anything from to four weeks. And costs will amoun tens of thousands of deutschemarks each.

To ensure that the public is fully formed on the course the trial take and not only through the inform released by the press office of the remberg judiciary — well-known j from all parts of the country will a the trial as observers, among them mer Constitutional Court Justice Hirsch.

Rejection of lawsuit causes controversy

The publication of a recent deci of the Constitutional Court has cause controversy: a screening committee three turned down a constitutional l suit in connection with the Nuremb incident on the grounds that "there no adequate prospect of success."

But this must not be construed mean that the arrest warrants issued Nuremberg were legal or even consti tional.

Yet many newspapers wrote that Constitutional Court justices had up the 141 arrest warrants.

Commented the mother of one of accused: "All I could think when I r that was: that's the end. It's frigh having to live in constant fear that son will take these newspaper rep too seriously."

Dr Erich Küchenhoff, professor administrative law, warns of such " ror stories," saying that the Constitu nal Court itself was outraged at this terpretation and that it had followed the original statement with a press lease to put an end to false interp tions. — a unique action for the Co to take.

Still, the mood among those in dock is depressing. Too often and vociferously has it been said in the few months that it is the judiciary that is in the dock in Nuremberg judges and public prosecutors can longer back down and are doomed success. An acquittal would be mount to defeat.

Fred Fran

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 November 19

FINANCE

'Self help the key' for developing countries

eveloping countries must make use of their own potential rather than ting development from outside, Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer meeting in Berlin.

m the very beginning, this had the basic idea of development aid. said constructive cooperation be- the industrial nations, Opec and importing developing countries was recondition for peaceful and lasting ons, a just distribution of resources n adequate standard of living in all of the world. This was the most rtant task in international politics Matthöfer told the 36th International Congress of the Junior Chamber national (Jaycees International).

e past years had seen a widening of gap between the richest and the st countries in both absolute and ve terms.

e annual per capita income in the trial nations rose from US$5,600 in 1960 by about US$5,000 to US$10,700 in 1980 (in real terms).

During the same period, incomes in the poor developing countries rose by only US$70 (from US$180 to US$250).

Herr Matthöfer named the following most important tasks:

- Basic needs like food, clothing, shelter and health care must be ensured for all;
- The dependence of the developing countries on expensive imported oil must be reduced through new sources of energy; and
- The natural ecosystems must be preserved and growing erosion — especially desert encroachment — must be stopped. One of the great problems, the Minister said, was to achieve unity on the strategy to be used in the pursuit of these aims.

After 30 years of development policy, it is becoming obvious that "the developing countries must make use of their own potentials rather than expecting development to be injected from outside in the form of capital, education and technology."

In a moment of self-criticism, the Finance Minister added that the volume of public sector development aid was still inadequate, saying "... and I expressly include the Federal Republic of Germany." By the same token, he pointed out that:

- Development aid spending in this country continues to rise disproportionately to other budget items;
- The Federal Republic of Germany is the most important donor country for the 30 or so poorest developing countries; and
- It is earnestly trying to provide aid in a form that would best serve the interests of the recipient countries.

Herr Matthöfer said that what mattered was to strengthen the developing countries' own sense of responsibility and to remove obstacles to development such as religious taboos, waste, corruption, exploitation and human rights violations.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the Standing Conference of German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that new accents and priorities were needed in the North-South dialogue.

Like Matthöfer, he warned of a "pointless hardening of the North-South front" which, in the past had led the world up a blind alley.

Neither the one-sided demands of many developing countries nor the defensive strategy of the industrial nations had led to a breakthrough so far, he said.

Von Amerongen called for a close cooperation between the emerging national economies of the Third World and international organisations aimed at creating a broad and reliable framework for development.

But providing open markets for the goods of the Third World was more than just removing tariff and administrative barriers, he said.

To achieve this, the Third World would have to improve its production facilities and establish export companies. Moreover, foreign investment alone is no cure-all in the bid for industrial progress.

The 4,800 Jaycees from 90 different countries who gathered to discuss problems of the world economy made this the biggest and most international congress of its kind ever to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Heinz Heck/Peter Weertz

(Die Welt, 11 November 1981)

Tight rein on investment

stors will be restrained next year ause of the economic outlook, says o Institute for Economic Research,

ugh the Institute's latest survey of ed investments for next year s an increase of four per cent st this year, adjusted for inflation actual investment volume in 1982 be four per cent lower.

his means that the decline will not ccessive. And should economic con ns improve markedly in the next months it is even possible that stment plans will be reviewed and volume upped.

tionalisation as the ultimate objec of investment is gaining in impor e. The motivating elements here are nical developments and the energy tion.

here are hardly any expansion stments planned for next year, says

ke this year, 1982 will again see a siderable increase in mining invest ts.

he construction industry, on the r hand, which has been plagued by demand, is likely to invest 25 per less this year and cut back another er cent in 1982.

egarding the current situation, the tute says that the position in the ufacturing industry has not improv since the last survey (in the spring). estic orders have diminished slight

llowing a rise in the first quarter of year, production has been diminish again in the subsequent months. But decline seems to have been halted

enerally, the level of production will lightly behind last year.

he unstable economic situation has mpted the business community to ise restraint in investments.

he survey indicates that the manu ring industry's investments this year roughly equal last year's volume. adjusted for inflation, there will be line of about five per cent. *rlr*

ndae Zeitung Mainz, 10 November 1981)

Pessimism in the Ruhr

The mood of the Ruhr area business community has reached an all-time low, say the region's chambers of commerce and industry.

The recovery forecast for the autumn did not happen.

Only one year ago last autumn, 20 per cent of the businessmen assessed the situation as bad, says the chamber's autumn survey. By the spring of this year that had risen to 34 per cent. Now it is 44 per cent.

The 1,225 businesses that were included in the survey gave the following reasons for the continuing decline: rising costs, high interest rates, declining profits, falling domestic demand and months of contradictory discussions on the rehabilitation of public sector finances and the removal of obstacles to investment.

But the survey also shows that there were improvements in our foreign trade — primarily due to exchange rate changes.

This has enabled the Ruhr area business community to improve its competitiveness.

But the 23 per cent export quota in the manufacturing industry is not enough to buttress a sagging business performance.

The various branches of industry differed widely in their assessment of the situation. The evaluation of the basic materials and capital goods industry was particularly negative. Here, more than two-thirds of the respondents described their situation as "poor".

Outlook in the construction industry was also bleak. The proportion of negative assessments rose by 22 per cent to close to half.

The only bright spot was the food and catering industry, which said things were getting better.

The retail trade has also deteriorated in most sectors. Even the traditional demand after the holiday season failed to happen this year.

The retailers attribute this to the fact that incomes have dropped in real terms, that the savings quota is still high and that rising energy prices have skimmed off some purchasing power.

Only eight per cent of the retailers said that business was "good"; 40 per cent said it was bad.

As to the next six months, 37 per cent anticipate business to be poor. This is a tiny bright spot considering that now 44 per cent are dissatisfied.

The chambers conclude: One section of the business community holds that the nadir has been reached and that business will continue at the present low level.

Sales in the Ruhr area during the first six months of this year stood at DM76.6bn, 3.4 per cent more than in the same period last year. But prices of manufactured goods have risen by 6,1 per cent, which means that sales, adjusted for inflation, have declined.

H. Baumann

(Die Welt, 13 November 1981)

The economy: seeking the culprit

Businessmen are always complaining about the economic situation, diminishing profits, rising costs and lack of capital. They agree that the future looks bleak, and they blame excessive wage demands and short-sightedness of politicians who burden them with ever new taxes and levies.

Trade unionists, by contrast, speak of mass unemployment without a silver lining, diminishing wages in real terms and growing stress at work.

They blame it all on the business community's greed for profit and on economic policy makers who refuse to listen to the trade unionists' sound advice.

Economic research institutes now also see only growing unemployment, less will to invest and rising inflation rates.

When it comes to distributing blame, they usually spread it pretty equally between business, the trade unions and the politicians.

We have once more been seized by a mood in which nobody, except government representatives, whose job it is to be optimistic, is prepared to admit that the situation could change for the better.

Pessimism and despondency prevail. Politicians, unionists, businessmen and economic researchers keep confirming this bleak outlook to each other. And since everybody can point to the others in substantiating his own lacklustre view, it is generally assumed that the pessimism is warranted.

It is, as things stand at the moment; but must it remain so?

Public consciousness always shows traits of manic depression. It always seesaws between exuberant optimism and deep pessimism. In such a situation, it is meaningless to point to the economy's own recuperative forces.

This even applied in the days of high growth rates and labour shortages. That was the time when erudite books on the disastrous consequences of unbridled growth sold like hot cakes.

It was the time when many prophets of doom believed that disaster could only be averted by artificially checking the boom.

It was also the time when many economists felt that German labour market problems could only be solved by recruiting millions of foreign workers.

The situation regarding energy is similar. Days of hysterical prophecies of crisis and doom are followed by times when we lull ourselves into a feeling of false security. All it takes is a few months of an oil glut and a drop in petrol prices by a couple of pennies to brush aside warnings as coming from people who habitually cry wolf ... until the next crisis.

And as to public sector finances, this year has seen warnings of disaster and minimising of the problems in rapid succession. But this is hardly the atmosphere in which to develop a long-term strategy with which to overcome the problems.

The same applies to the economy as a whole. The next upswing is sure to come — and it will come the sooner the quicker we rid ourselves of the idea that the only way things can go is downward.

Michael Jungblut

(Die Zeit, 6 November 1981)

INDUSTRY

Textile workers protest as jobs vanish by the thousand



About 25,000 textile workers took part in a rally in Bonn to draw attention to their industry's plight.

It is likely that by the end of the year, there will be 70,000 fewer workers in the industry than at the end of last year.

A secretary of the textiles and clothing workers union, Alfred Hänel, says: "Imagine the hue and cry if 70,000 steel workers were sacked at one fell swoop."

There is no doubt that there would be an uproar.

The loss of 70,000 jobs in iron and steel would mean, for instance, a total shutdown in the Saar, which has 38,000 steelworkers, and the closure of Hoesch in Dortmund too, with its 21,000 jobs.

Alternatively Thyssen, a leading manufacturer, Peine Salzgitter, a state-owned company, and Klöckner — all large companies — would have to go to the wall.

Yet will there be a hue and cry over the 70,000 textile jobs? No.

The reasons are easily outlined. The 200,000-odd steelworkers are employed by about a dozen large companies and represented by the largest trade union in the country.

The half a million textiles and clothing workers are employed by well over 5,000 small firms and backed by a much smaller union.

This year Bonn has promised the steel industry DM1.8bn in subsidies to prevent mass redundancies.

Management and staff of the textile industry, in contrast, have been told by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff how wonderful the free market economy is.

Berthold Keller, general secretary of the 300,000-strong textile workers union, has arranged for the protest in Bonn.

It was not be the first time they had drawn attention to their plight. Factory

'Gatt agreement has failed to protect home industry'

meetings, platform debates and local protest gatherings have been held since September to get the message across to local and state politicians and Bonn MPs.

Letters and personal visits have been written and paid to persuade political leaders in Bonn that something must be done to improve matters.

A year ago a one-hour token strike was held to draw attention to the plight of weavers and spinners, tailors, cutters and finishers.

So far the cumulative effect of all these moves has been most unsatisfactory as far as union officials are concerned.

The Bonn rally will be the climax for the time being of the trade union's campaign for job security in textiles and clothing. It coincides with the Geneva Gatt talks on a new international textiles agreement.

The outcome of the renegotiations will be of crucial importance for the future of the domestic industry and its workers.

The current international textiles agreement, regulating the trade in textiles and clothing between developing and industrialised countries, runs out at the end of this year. It will have been in force for four years.

While generally upholding the principle of free world trade in textiles it imposed quotas on a number of sensitive products.

Twenty-eight developing countries that signed the agreement were affected by them. They include Hong Kong, India, China, Yugoslavia, Poland, Singapore and the Philippines.

They are allotted export quotas for their trade in the scheduled products, while the European Community countries are allotted import quotas for them.

The outgoing agreement included an average annual growth rate of six per cent for the exporting countries.

The German union says the agreement has failed, by any stretch of the imagination, to live up to its original purpose, which was to protect home industry.

So the union's demands are not only for a new agreement to be negotiated but also for substantially improved terms, such as quota growth rates of one-and-a-half per cent per annum.

In the industrialised countries, it argues, growth rates in the consumption of textiles and clothing have been negligible for years.

It would also like to see terms renegotiated not for four years but for ten. This would ensure for the industry a reasonable safety margin within which to reach investment decisions, it feels.

The union would not like to be accused of opposing the developing countries, so it has called for a distinction to be drawn between industrialised developing countries and bona fide developing countries.

It has a point. Fifty-five per cent of textiles and 75 per cent of clothing imported come from one of the four textile giants in the developing world: Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and Macao.

The agreement ought also to include minimum welfare provisions for workers in the industry, provisions that are to apply worldwide.

This, the union argues, would appreciably stem the tide of cut-price textiles.

In its fight to save jobs in the domestic industry the trade union is not alone. The management are with it all the way. It is an entire industry's fight for suvival.

Both agree in their assessment of the situation. Both have paid the price of free world trade, and it has been a heavy one for all concerned.

Since the mid-60s the textiles and clothing industry has steadily lost ground, and the trend continues unabated. In 1962 there were 4,381 textiles companies with a payroll of nearly 590,000.

Numbers have since declined almost uninterruptedly. At the end of last year only 2,249 companies were left. Their combined turnover was DM33bn, their payroll a mere 304,000.

In 1966 there were still 406,000 people employed by nearly 5,630 clothing manufacturers. By the end of last year only 3,210 were left. Their turnover was DM20.7bn, their payroll 249,000.

In the 70s alone the number of both companies and people working for them in both industries declined by nearly 40 per cent.

Textiles and clothing companies have traditionally been based in areas where there was not much industry and every job counted.

Along the GDR border and in Upper Franconia, the Lower Rhine, the countryside between Münster and the Dutch border, the Bavarian forest and the Swabian Alb regions unemployment is a constant problem.

Well over half the textile and clothing workers are women, and the union suspects that import policies for textiles are pursued without inhibitions because jobs for women are not felt to matter.

The increasing glut of cheap textiles imported have obviously contributed towards the industry's plight.

In the course of the 70s imports increased in value from DM8.7bn to

'It is felt that women's jobs do not matter'

DM25.8bn, or nearly trebled. Exports merely doubled in value, from DM7bn to DM16.3bn.

The surplus of imports over exports more than quadrupled to DM9.5bn.

Yet the Federal Republic of Germany has not only proved a receptive market in which free trade prevailed; domestic manufacturers have also proved competitive internationally.

In both imports and exports the Germans lead the world. On the import side they are ahead of both the United States and France. In exports they have run rings round Italy and France, both countries renowned for their fashions.

Despite this hue and cry over the Geneva talks it must be borne in mind that in textiles the industrialised countries do most business with each other.

For years the major customers of German clothing and textiles manufacturers have been the Dutch, French and Austrians.

For years the Italians, French, Belgians and Dutch were Germany's major suppliers. But the ratings changed markedly in the 70s.

Among countries that export to Germany, Italy and France are now followed by Hong Kong, while Greece is sixth, Yugoslavia tenth and Yugoslavia eleventh.

In many parts of the market imports have long been essential. Tee shirts, for instance, are no longer manufactured in Germany.

Imports account for 93 per cent of underwear and lingerie sold in Germany, while 97 per cent of the country's anoraks were made up abroad.

About 85 per cent of rainwear is imported, as is every other dress and costume, not to mention 90 per cent of men's shirts and 70 per cent of blouses and trousers.

Domestic textiles and clothing co[mpanies] do much of the importing, th[…] by eliminating home jobs, as they r[ea]dily concede, although no-one is s[…] of the figures.

Helmut Wienholt of the Retail Tr[…] Importers Association says 45 per c[ent] of imported finished products are i[m]ported by home industry.

So both unions and employers d[…] allegations of in any way advocating [pro]tectionism. They feel, indeed, that [they] are as pure as the driven snow i[n a] world where everyone else has a lea[ning] towards protectionism.

Many threshold countries have [cor]doned off domestic markets by im[pos]ing virtually insuperable tariff barr[iers]. The offenders here range from Braz[il to] South Korea.

Even within the European Commu[ni]ty not all member-countries are felt [to] fight fair. The EEC Council of Minis[ters] says Bonn far exceeds its 28.5-per-c[ent] share of Common Market clothing [and] textile imports, whilst others take g[ood] care not to do so.

Germany makes up over 36 per ce[nt] of the EEC's total, whereas France, w[ith] 13.4 per cent, is five per cent below [its] quota. Britain too, with an allocation [of] 23.5 per cent, has managed to curb im[ports] to 18.3 per cent.

In France and Italy the state has a[l]ways lent a helping hand to the rag tra[de], for which both have traditional[ly] been renowned.

German representatives at the EE[C] certainly seem to have failed to convin[ce] the others of the benefits to be deriv[ed] from unfettered trade.

The attitude taken by Count Lamb[s]dorff is diametrically opposed to [the] viewpoint held by his French count[er]part, and this failure to agree has co[n]demned the Common Market count[ries] to inactivity in Geneva.

They are bound by the terms of [the] Treaty of Rome to speak with one voi[ce] and if unable to arrive at a comm[on] denominator have no choice but to s[ay] nothing at all, which is hardly likely [to] improve their position at the Gene[va] talks.

Count Lambsdorff is in favour of co[n]tinuing with the terms of the outgoin[g] agreement, where as his colleagues [in] Britain, France, Italy and Belgium wou[ld] like to negotiate cutbacks.

Their aim is to persuade the confe[r]ence to reduce their import quotas [to] the trends in consumer demand.

A compromise now seems possible. [It] would be continuation of the old agre[e]ment followed by bilateral agreemen[ts] with exporting countries on import [re]strictions.

'German failure to put over free-trade argument'

For both the union and the employ[ers] in Germany this is anything but [the] most satisfactory solution. Hardly any [of] the demands they share can be met [in] bilateral talks.

So the union is already thinking [in] terms of its next rally but one.

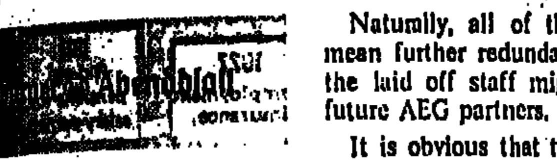
"If the EEC Council of Minist[ers] agrees on a viewpoint that is too far [re]moved from the trade union positio[n]," says Herr Hänel, "there will be a pro[test] gathering in Brussels attended by rep[re]sentatives of textile workers unions [from] all over Europe."

Gunhild Freese

(Die Zeit, 20 November 1981)

[BU]SINESS

Mixed feelings over new AEG rescue



[…]ed by experience, the staff of [A]EG received the news of the [res]cue action by a consortium of [banks wi]th mixed feelings.

[Despi]te favourable forecasts, the pen[…] rescue operation in 1979 was [followe]d by 20,000 rendundancies in [the countr]y's second largest electrical con[cern].

[…] Council Chairman Hans […]: "The staff has become used in [the last] few years to negative forecasts [coming] true and positive ones only half [com]ing at best. So the management [wi]ll have to pull up its socks if it [wants to mo]tivate the staff."

[…] Rubke also stresses that the [mo]ney by the banks will guarantee [the sur]vival of the concern for only a [couple] of years.

[By] 1983, AEG, whose balance sheet [has clos]ed with a loss five times since […], expected to stand on its own feet.

[It wou]ld be a lovely birthday gift to [the com]pany which, in 1983, will celebrate [it]s 100th anniversary. But this [AEG']s chief executive, Heinz Dürr […] to plug the many holes that [are sin]king the company.

[One] of the trouble spots is Telefun[ken's en]tertainment electronics. But the [compan]y has already started to halve its [produc]tion capacity in Italy and to cure [its Bra]zilian, Mexican and Spanish head[aches].

[Othe]r problem areas are the home [applian]ces sector, capital goods and […] office equipment.

[The a]iling sector of plant technology [will pr]obably be easiest to put back in [order] and the Olympia works in Wil[helmsh]aven shows signs of improvement.

[The] biggest problem for Dürr clearly [is] the home appliances sector. His [line] of action there is becoming dis[cernible] now: production will include [only tho]se appliances that can be mass [produc]ed.

Naturally, all of these measures will mean further redundancies. But some of the laid off staff might find jobs with future AEG partners.

It is obvious that the staff have every reason to worry. Dürr is the only person involved who is always optimistic.

When Emil Rathenau founded the company in 1883, it was called German Edison Co. and manufactured light bulbs.

Rathenau, the son of a Berlin businessman, studied engineering in Zurich and earned his first money as a draftsman at the Borsig Co.

But light bulbs did not fulfil Rathenau and, in 1887, he renamed his company *Allgemeine Electricitäts Gesellschaft* (AEG) — a company to which Germany subsequently owed a great deal on its road to becoming an industrial nation.

AEG's products ranged from ship's propulsion via locomotives and streetcars all the way to heating appliances, telephone cables and wireless telegraphy.

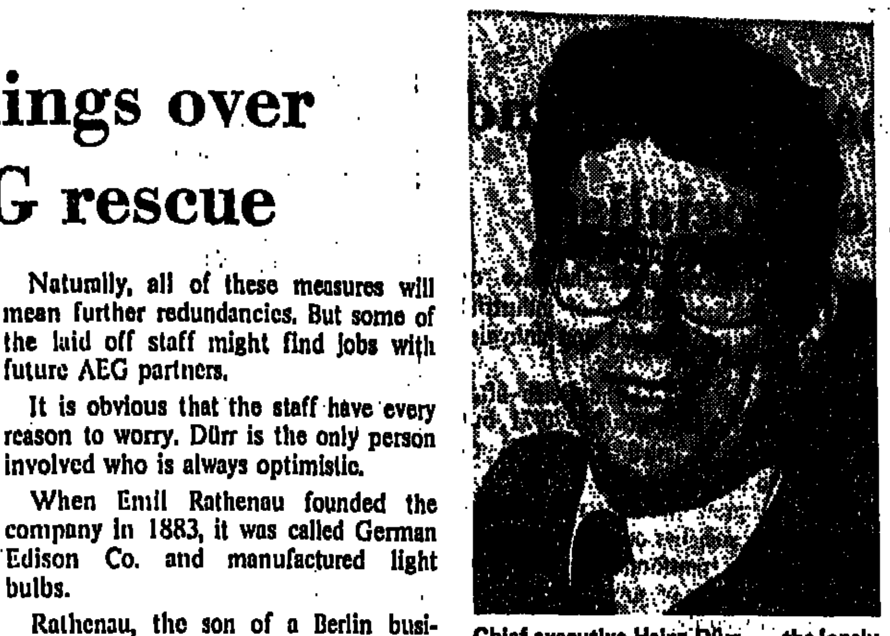
The company was a pioneer in the electrification drive for Germany; and power stations which AEG built in China around the turn of the century are still fully operational.

One of AEG's strengths lay in the manufacture of streetcars; and even before the turn of the century the company was instrumental in developing the tram network of Nuremberg, Lübeck, Leipzig, Kiel, Danzig, Plauen, Königsberg, Altenburg, Spandau and Oslo.

The 1930s were boom years, with the company venturing into new technical territory, and in the 1960s it earned its last pioneering laurels by inventing the PAL territory television system.

But the early 1960s also marked the beginning of the decline when the home appliance expert Hans Bühler became the company's chief executive and wasted a lot of money through bad investment.

Possessed by ubridled greed, Bühler (whose wastefulness was later rewarded when he was made chairman of the Supervisory Board) bought up close to 50 medium sized consumer goods manufacturers.



Chief executive Heinz Dürr . . . the lonely optimist. (Photo: AEG-Telefunken)

It was under him that the former classical maker of capital goods became topheavy on the consumer goods side. This was particularly dangerous because good quality vacuum cleaners or heating appliances can also be made by low wage countries. But this was not all.

AEG had a hard time getting off the ground again after war's end. Unlike its main competitor, Siemens, the end of the war saw AEG with a mere 10 per cent of its production facilities.

Nine factories in East Berlin and the GDR were lost, and the company had to write off assets worth one billion reichmarks.

All that remained for the company in the West was the factories in Nuremberg, Stuttgart and Mülheim/Ruhr.

The new start had to be financed by borrowing and the company now finds itself saddled with a debt burden of DM5.6bn.

Post-1945 sales grew fairly steadily but profits — even in good years — lagged behind those of Siemens.

Things were different in the company's first 50 years. For instance, between 1894 and 1900 the payroll quintupled, and AEG's 17,000 workers accounted for a business volume of 100m marks. Sales rose sixfold in as many years.

There was no such steep rise after World War II. In fact, it is eight years since AEG paid its 110,000 stockholders a measly dividend of five per cent. Ever since, they have wound up empty-handed.

Burkhart Salchow

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 November 1981)

No change in Siemens' dividend

Considering the company's poor performance, Siemens should have reduced its latest dividend payment. But the management was reluctant to broadcast its weakness and decided to pay the same dividend it had been paying for years: DM8 per share.

But the money had to come from somewhere, and in this instance it was the open reserves that were pared down.

The dividend was maintained for the sake of the company's international standing and reputation.

But the problems are there for all to see.

It became evident in the summer that profits, which had been declining for years, had arrived at the modest level of 1.5 per cent.

Naturally, this led to speculation that Siemens' star was waning and one magazine came up with the headline "The giant that overslept".

The stock market, with its unerring nose, responded promptly.

There was a time when no portfolio was considered complete without Siemens, the bluest of blue chips. This was due, among other things, to the traditionally high regard in which the Siemens management was held as a paragon of soundness and continuity.

But as soon as the first tremors reached the market, Siemens stock began to drop. At the beginning of this year, shares were still quoted at DM269. Now they have dropped to DM200.

There are essentially two key areas that account for the diminished profits: data processing and plant components are in the red to the tune of half a billion.

After the unavoidable teething problems, data processing seemed to be approaching the point where it would break even. But here Siemens had to compete with the American giant IBM — a formidable task.

In the plant components sector things looked promising to start with. The company's policy was directed at growth and acquisition.

All went well until the general state of the economy thwarted plans.

Due to the world-wide economic decline, the plant components sector found itself in straits. Massive undercutting by foreign competitors led to considerable losses and forecasts now have to be reviewed. Siemens is trying to remedy the situation by adapting, streamlining and merging. It could be said that nobody can fight the general economic doldrums. But there is more to it. The public suddenly learned of friction among the top echelon of Siemens.

Reshuffles in the data processing sector went off relatively smoothly, but the replacement of the head of the plant components division caused a considerable stir.

The public is used to friction and conflict among the executives of major corporations — but this does not include Siemens.

There is, however, one consolation: Siemens stands on firm foundations and its liquid assets amount to several billion deutschemarks. It is therefore likely that the electrical giant will weather its problems.

Peter Nathusius

(Mannheimer Morgen, 13 November 1981)

Big steel deal pops at the rivets

[The] steel industry marriage between [Ge]rman and Dutch firms seems [ripe] for divorce after almost 10 years.

[The] union is between Hoesch AG, [Dortmu]nd, and the Koninklijke Neder[landsch]e Hoogovens en Staalfabrieken [IJ]muiden.

[Know]n as in Estel N.V., the deal was [seal]ed on 1 January 1971.

[Hoes]ch will probably join up with [Krupp] Stahl AG, according to Hoesch [chairm]an Dr Rohwedder.

[What] Hoesch wants is a fair and [amicable] separation from Hoogovens, and [the] Dutch supervisory board recently [showe]d full understanding for the purely [Germa]n link between Hoesch and [Krupp] Stahl, Dr Rohwedder told a meeting of steel manufacturers.

[The] withdrawal from Estel, he said, [was] due to the fact that both Ho[esch an]d Bonn are only prepared to sub[sidise n]ational companies.

But it has not yet been decided whether Hoogovens will enter into another steel marriage with a German company, Rohwedder told the meeting.

Krupp, however, is reluctant to burden a new steel merger with problems that would arise from any solution involving a foreign company.

The Hoesch executive said that the German-Dutch marriage had been a disappointment and indicative of the lack of integration within the EEC.

The next (third) round of talks between Hoesch, Krupp Stahl and Peine-Salzgitter is imminent and is likely to shed light on the advantages and disadvantages of a tripartite solution in the German steel industry.

Rohwedder confirmed that a link-up with Krupp Stahl had priority for Hoesch and that talks at the Bonn Finance Ministry on subsidies for a new German steel merger will begin on 23 November.

This means that objectives have to be agred upon before the end of the year though many details might remain open.

Neither Hoesch nor Krupp Stahl nor Hoogovens, Dr Rohwedder said, have made a complete evaluation as yet but it was obvious that it is impossible to untangle the whole of Estel.

He confirmed that Bonn wanted Krupp Stahl and Hoesch to sell their combined 14 per cent equities in Ruhrkohle. But there is no mention of selling the Hoesch subsidiary Orenstein & Koppel, Dortmund.

Hans Overberg

(Rheinische Post, 14 November 1981)

THE WELFARE STATE

Bismarck gets ball rolling and steals march on socialists

1881 is generally taken as the year in which the groundwork was laid in Germany for the system of comprehensive social security. On 17 November Chancellor Bismarck read out the Reichstag an Imperial proclamation in which Kaiser Wilhelm announced his intention of making insurance provision for old age, ill-health and industrial injury.

Social security in Germany could, in a nutshell, be said to have been introduced by Bismarck in a bid to outflank the Socialists, banned since 1878.

It all began a century ago when the Imperial proclamation that has gone down in German history as the magna carta of social security was read out to the Reichstag.

The proclamation said that working men had a legal right to assistance in the event of sickness, industrial injury and disability and to a pension in old age.

Insurance societies were to be set up as cooperatives on the basis of mutual assistance and self-administration.

The view that a man unable to work (and his family) ought not to be left to their fate goes back millenia, to Ancient Greece and Rome, to early Christianity and the Middle Ages.

But the mediaeval Poor Law broke down in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. It was replaced by mutual assistance arrangements made by crafts and guilds.

They too proved insufficient when, from the mid-19th century, the industrial revolution changed the face of Germany, taking millions of industrial workers into overcrowded and unhygienic cities.

Business boomed in the Reich after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, but a recession that lasted from 1873 to 1896 led to domestic unrest.

The poor grew ever poorer and mutual assistance societies ought, it was suggested, to be transformed into a comprehensive system of government-supervised social security.

Chancellor Bismarck saw plans for a uniform accident, health insurance and pension scheme as a welcome opportunity of undermining the growing popularity of the Socialists.

The first comprehensive health insurance scheme took effect in December 1884. Insured persons were entitled to free medical treatment and up to 13 weeks sickness benefit.

The scheme was run by any number of local, works and other insurance societies. The medical profession was not enamoured of it.

Doctors earned only between 80 pfennigs and a mark per consultation and treatment, whereas private patients paid much higher and more lucrative fees.

Progressive industrialisation soon showed up the weaknesses of the scheme. Only about one person in five was insured: the breadwinner but not his family.

Besides, there were well over 22,000 different approved societies administering the health insurance scheme.

During the First World War and the recession that followed it most of these societies went bankrupt, whereupon the entire health insurance system was reorganised and standardised.

Salary-earners (white-collar, as opposed to blue-collar, workers) had a separate insurance scheme of their own from 1911. They laid claim to a status midway between that of the workers and the management.

Low-income salary-earners were compulsorily insured, but higher income brackets were allowed to choose between voluntary insurance and opting out.

In 1934 unemployment insurance was introduced as a separate scheme.

After the Second World War the entire social security system had to be built. Welfare state provisions were embodied in Basic Law, the 1949 constitution.

Individuals and groups not previ[ously] insured were gradually included in [the] scope of the system, while provi[sions] were steadily improved.

Two crucial improvements in [the] post-war period have been regul[ar in]creases in pensions and allowanc[es to] keep pace with the rising cost of li[ving,] introduced in 1957, and automatic [sick]ness benefit for wage-earners, fin[ally] in its present form in 1970.

Franz Fe[...]

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonnt[agsblatt,] 15 Novemb[er 1981)]

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS TOWA[RDS] SOCIAL SECURITY IN GERMANY

1881 Imperial proclamation heralds welfare legislation

1883 Sickness benefit for the breadwinner

1884 Industrial injury insurance

1889 Old age and disability pen[sions] for wage-ear[ners]

1911 Old age pensions for salary-earners

1927 Unemployment insurance

1933 Self-administration of insurance schemes is scrapped

1951 Self-administration reintroduced

1957 Pensions pegged to wage increases

1970 Sickness benefit for wage-earners

1981 Reform backlog for the 80s

Arithmetic of entire system reveals growing problems

In common with other democracies the Federal Republic of Germany set out in the 70s to provide comprehensive welfare state cover.

Production as the groundwork of all provisions made by the public sector was paid less and less attention and priority increasingly given to distribution.

The state is nowadays expected to provide everyone with insurance cover against every eventuality.

Keynotes of this insurance mentality are exorbitant provisions that will be a lasting burden on the future, a growing reluctance on the part of many "policy-holders" to deliver the goods and an increasingly poor performance by employers who have to make the profits and foot the wage bills that pay for it all.

Since the mid-70s massive government debts have been run up to finance this state of affairs, which has worried a German public that has past experience of where this can lead.

Yet politicans have not seen fit to act on the growing appreciation by the general public of the need for drastic measures to remedy the situation.

They have chosen to ignore the opportunity of fundamentally improving the relationship between production and distribution.

They have missed an opportunity of setting right a situation in which the public debt is steadily mounting.

Viewed benevolently, the political consequence of this hesitation by the politicians may be termed a compromise cut less to fit the cloth of economic necessity than to ensure the retention of power.



Its economic consequence is the failure to comply with immediate and long-term requirements that would ensure economic survival.

The talk is all of Operation '82 and its current rearguard actions.

Since the summer theatricals in Bonn last August so many promises have been broken that people have increasingly lost faith in the willingness or ability of political leaders.

Talk of a major turning point has not been followed by action, thereby missing an opportunity that could have accomplished so much more than any pump-priming exercise.

The shortcomings in the economic sector are, for the most part, that Operation '82 has done justice to neither the immediate cyclical nor the long-term structural tasks the country faces.

The increase in unemployment insurance contributions leads to an additional burden on company profits imposed by wage costs that bear no relation to the trading position.

It is bound to affect the climate of economic investment, especially as this additional cost factor is bound not to be taken into account in the forthcoming round of wage talks.

A first, albeit hesitant step in the right direction is the proposal to change the basis on which unemployment benefit is assessed.

It could just make people drawing benefit keener to resume employment.

Viewed jointly with the higher unemployment insurance contribution it might even exert psychological pressure to end abuse of the system by a few shirkers.

There are no legal objections to Bonn pocketing the Bundesbank's annual profits. This is the usual practice in other countries too.

Difficulties arise when one considers where the money is to be spent. It will neither be used for debt servicing nor to reduce the amount needed in new loans.

It will not even be used to boost government investment, which has been curtailed heavily in recent years. The construction industry, where so many companies are going to the wall these days, could well have done with an increase in public spending.

In the foreseeable future investment in the private sector is sure to be strictly limited.

The longer-term monetary consequences of this payout of Bundesbank profits seem likely to further limit investment potential in the private [sec]tor.

This is because the profits are d[...] high interest rates, which will tend t[o be] perpetuated to maintain this sour[ce of] revenue even though high interest [rates] are, generally speaking, an invest[ment] disincentive.

This will particularly apply to sm[all] companies, for which lower capital c[...] and higher interest rates have ass[umed] the proportions of undeniable risk [fac]tors.

Yet investment is essential to t[ake] care of the future, and it will only [be] undertaken in an atmosphere of co[nfi]dence.

Operation '82 may have largely f[...] to consolidate Bonn governm[ent] finances, but prospects for the f[...] must at least be made to appear cr[...]

There must be greater political co[nsis]tency, an improvement in framew[ork] conditions and a reduction in the c[on]fidence shortfall.

There is no call for drastic cures, [...] as there is no such thing as a sure c[...] But it is realistic at least to expect [the] credibility of politics to be restored.

In other words, what is needed is a policy of providing for the future [...] political parties and coalitions bu[...] policy of ensuring economic recovery.

If leeway can but be gained on [...] score, political leeway will follow [as a] matter of course.

F. Wilhelm Christ[ians]

(Die Welt, [...])

Dr Christians, the writer of this [...]tary, is board chairman of [...] Bank.

ENERGY

Nuclear power stations: more, more and still more

[T]here will be about 4,000 nuclear power stations around the world in [...] years compared with about 250 now, [a G]erman expert told a conference in [...]lage, a spa town in the Harz [Moun]tains.

[Pr]ofessor Häfele, of Jülich nuclear re[search] centre, said that about 120 sta[tions] a year were being built.

[By] the year 2000, an estimated 350 a [year] would need to come into operation.

[Th]e conference was optimistic about [the] future for nuclear power. German [com]panies are keen to cash in on the [...] forecast at the conference by a [pan]el of experts that included a trio of [hea]vyweights in both senses of the term.

[The]y were Herman Kahn of the Hud[son] Institute, New York, Holger Börner, [Prem]ier of Hesse, and Heinz Kluncker, [gener]al secretary of ÖTV, the public [serv]ice and transport workers union.

[Star]ting next year, or the year after [a]t the latest, a convoy of new nuc[lear] power stations were to be built be[twe]en the Alps and the North Sea.

German manufacturers were also [pla]nning to build mini-nukes (power [sta]tions, not warheads) to help the de[vel]oping countries to boost living stand[ard]s.

[H]err Börner, from neighbouring [Hes]se, had mainly Germany in mind. [He] is committed to nuclear power and [face]s a crucial state assembly election [cam]paign next year.

Professor Kahn took a wider view. He [sai]d further growth held the key to the [pros]perity of both industrialised and de[vel]oping countries.

[The] limits to growth, said Professor [Häfe]le, were set by energy supplies to [the] developing countries.

[H]e is in charge of a world energy sur[vey] compiled by the Institute for Appl[ied] Systems Analysis in Laxenburg, near [Vie]nna. The institute is a research facil[ity] sponsored by both the East and the [We]st.

It was nonsense to talk in terms of al[ter]native forms of energy, he said. It [wou]ld be better to stress additive forms, [by] which he meant so much solar [pow]er, so much biomass and so on.

But even 50 years from now (that is [as] far ahead US and Soviet experts [ha]ve forecast prospects at Laxenburg) oil, [ga]s, coal and atomic energy will still be [man]kind's energy mainstays.

Professor Häfele said that by the year [20]00 an estimated 350 nuclear stations a [yea]r would need to go on to the active [lis]t if the gap in living standards be[tw]een developing and industrialised [cou]ntries were to be narrowed.

German manufacturers of power re[ac]tors are short of orders but confidently [ex]pect demand to increase in the Third World.

Klaus Barthelt, board chairman of [Kr]aftwerk Union (KWU), a Siemens [su]bsidiary, said manufacturers had no [in]tention of forcing nuclear power on [th]e developing countries.

More and more Third World countries [th]emselves wanted to develop atomic [en]ergy and felt they were being subject[e]d to a modern version of colonial oppression if the industrialised world refused to sell them the latest technology in nuclear power.

So Herr Barthelt said his company, which manufactures power reactors, had no plans to sell developing countries watered-down nuclear technology.

What he expected was that KWU would be designing sturdy plant and equipment that would give Third World operators the least possible trouble.

In central Europe and the United States nuclear power stations with an installed unit capacity of 1,200 megawatts were now the rule.

They were unsuitable for developing countries that lacked the power grid to relay so much electricity to consumers. So KWU was now designing smaller units of between 200 and 400 megawatts.

"We already have more clients interested in this category of nuclear power station than there are countries capable of paying for them," said Herr Barthelt.

Even a small nuclear power station will not cost less than DM1bn, and of the couple of dozen developing countries (out of a total of roughly 130) in a position to benefit from a nuclear power station of this kind, only a handful can afford one.

The KWU board chairman said a major nuclear power station saved so much oil per annum (or made it available for sale to the developing world) that it was an aid factor worth considering.

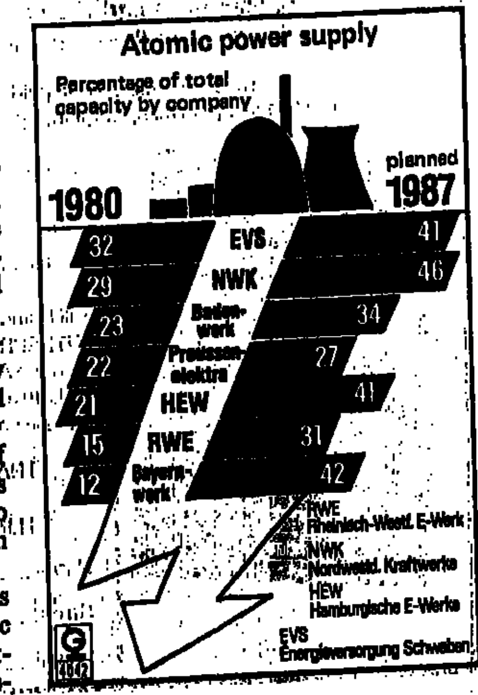
In building and exporting nuclear power stations the Federal Republic of Germany would thus be providing development aid in more ways than one.

Holger Börner, Hesse's burly Premier, was in favour of the idea in principle. "I feel growth is essential," he said, "and it presupposes a secure energy basis."

This security could not be ensured without nuclear power, which did not mean atomic energy alone must be developed, of course.

He was not prepared to say whether he favoured accelerating planning procedures in the latest stage of the Bonn government's energy development programme.

"I am not in favour of going in for anything at full tilt; it does not tend to improve matters," he said. "But I don't hold with going short on safety either, and certainly not where atomic energy is concerned."



So Herr Börner neatly avoided a clear commitment for or against the wish of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE) and other major power utilities to build more domestic nuclear power stations.

The utilities would like to build entire runs of nuclear power stations, starting with five 1,300-megawatt units.

"The French are already building reactors in runs," said Franz Joseph Spalthoff of the RWE board, "faster and less enpensively than we are."

He and the advocates of nuclear power envisage a string of new units the length of the country, from Lingen via Hamm, Biblis, Neckar-Westheim and Isar to Wyhl.

Applications have been in the pipeline for six years. They now hope the safety of all these reactors will be checked by a single agency, the Bavarian safety inspectorate, and construction work can get under way by the year after next at the latest.

Argument for fast breeder reactor

Herr Spalthoff envisaged an even more far-reaching step. By the end of the decade, he said, a decision ought to be taken on the construction of a first full-scale German fast breeder reactor.

He was able to cite international forecasts in support of his claim that breeder reactors would prove indispensable. Professor Häfele had said they would be needed from the turn of the century.

It was of more immediate importance to ensure that the fast breeder research project in Kalkar, near the Dutch border, was assured of funds next year.

Yet the power utilities in the south of Germany were under strict instructions from their supervisory boards not to chip in. These instructions were politically motivated, he claimed.

Heinz Kluncker, the trade union leader, was equally categorical and unequivocal in his support for another project beset by difficulties, a plant to reprocess spent nuclear fuel rods.

He was initially only willing to approve a pilot project of the kind Hesse is prepared to house, and Herr Kluncker stressed that a wide base of support, a consensus, must be established in favour of the idea.

Herr Börner clearly had every intention of ensuring there was a consensus before his state administration would give the go-ahead to built a reprocessing plant.

He planned to hold a parliamentary hearing before embarking on planning procedures. This would be similar to the hearing held by Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht on the Gorleben project in Hanover in 1979.

At the end of the Hanover hearing Herr Albrecht announced that plans for a reprocessing plant in Gorleben were, politically speaking, stone dead.

Dieter Tasch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 November 1981)

Bonn set on easing atom planning

RHEINISCHE POST

More nuclear power stations must be built to meet the growing demand for energy, the Bonn government has decided in its latest energy programme.

There are industrial policy reasons why atomic energy must make a large contribution towards electric power output, the policy document says.

Nuclear development must be seen in an overall economic context and neither nuclear power's current share of output nor the time it took to get planning permission for nuclear power stations and built them were in keeping with energy or industrial policy considerations.

Bonn is determined to simplify, standardise and speed up planning procedures. The emphasis will be on ruling out further public hearings on changes to existing nuclear power stations or units already in the planning pipeline.

Talks on speeding up procedures have already been completed with the *Länder* and with the industry. Agreements reached are now to be implemented as soon as possible.

Bonn is also keen to ensure further development of high safety standards in nuclear power station construction and swift implementation of the nuclear waste disposal programme.

Given the uncertainty of world affairs in connection with energy demand forecasts, the government does not intend to go firm on specific figures.

Surveys by the German Economic Research Institute (DIW), Berlin, the energy department of Cologne University and the Rhenish-Westphalian Economic Research Institute, Essen, are nonetheless felt to be plausible estimates.

They all expect coal, oil and other energy resources each to account for about a third of power supplies by the mid-90s.

Their surveys were all commissioned by the Bonn government but undertaken independently.

Primary energy consumption is expected to increase by only 1 to 1.4 per cent between 1978 and 1995. This forecast is based on the assumption that GNP growth rates will be from 2.2 to 3.4 per cent in real terms.

Oil's share of energy consumption is expected to decline from 52.3 per cent in 1978 (and 47.6 per cent last year) to 34 per cent in 1995.

At the same time atomic energy's share of power output is slated to increase from three per cent in 1978 to 17 per cent in 1995.

This again assumes that at least 17,000 megawatts of extra installed nuclear power station capacity will be built.

If this proves impossible the forecast is that the price of electricity will increase, as will the demand for alternative fuels and difficulties in building alternative power station capacity in time to cater for demand.

Coal's share in meeting energy requirements is expected to increase from 17.8 to 22 per cent, whereas gas will roughly hold its own in percentage terms at 16.

Hans-Hennig Zencke

(Rheinische Post, 5 November 1981)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Trying to make the inner city come to life again

Twenty-one European countries are competing in a Council of Europe drive on urban renewal that is to end with a full-scale conference in Berlin early next year.

Five German cities have been entered, including a Karlsruhe suburb, Ettlingen and Burghausen.

Ettlingen, near Karlsruhe, is a medium-sized town where much of the rebuilding has been the work of private enterprise. Burghausen is a historic small town in Upper Bavaria.

All three, the city, the medium-sized town and the small town, have sought in different ways to counteract inner suburb decay and make town life desirable again.

The Karlsruhe suburb is still known as Dörfle, or the village it once was, even though it consists mainly of six- to eight-storey tenement blocks.

There can be no mistaking the mark the bulldozers have made on the area. Nine hundred new apartments have been built and 3,000 people rehoused in the first stage of redevelopment.

Housing on small lots that was in bad shape, with poor plumbing, has been replaced by attractive town apartment blocks, but by and large the new residents are newcomers to the area.

The first overall development plan, drawn up in the 60s, envisaged high-rise blocks reminiscent of the Manhattan skyline, but they never left the drawing-board.

After years of dispute over development proposals and a subsequent planning competition Karlsruhe managed, by the skin of its teeth, to avoid having the entire atmosphere of the city ruined.

In the mid-70s a rethink began. The aim was no longer to raze entire districts to the ground but to refurbish existing property that was in good shape.

Priority was given to maintaining architectural substance, and in the Dörfle district this has been done wherever possible.

Over a 16-hectare (40-acre) area two-thirds have been slum-cleared and the remainder modernised.

New blocks have been built to a uniform height, and green and quiet courtyards make them a pleasure to live in.

The exterior of new buildings has been designed to harmonise with the general appearance of urban architecture in Karlsruhe too.

In nearby Ettlingen, population 36,000, rebuilding the town centre presented fewer problems even though it did not have the DM100m-plus the Federal and state governments have invested in the Karlsruhe project over a 10-year period.

Ettlingen is an example of how, with skilful town planning, private investment exceeding DM120m can be promoted at little cost to the taxpayer.

The amount so far invested by the municipality has been a mere DM4m, which is roughly what it costs to build a small gym nowadays.

Yet Ettlingen has preserved its mediaeval character without coming to look more like a museum than a living community. It is a confusing pattern of narrow streets that have been pedestrian precincts for centuries.

Very sparing use has been made of concrete, glass and steel. Residents were consulted at an early stage in the planning — and not just the public in general but people directly affected, such as the old-age pensioner, the milkman and so on.

Burgomaster Erwin Vetter says the town has developed a new awareness of itself as an entity that would make short shrift of plans to change the face of Ettlingen by building, say, a department store that did not fit into the pattern.

The town has consistently opposed plans to set up shopping centres on the outskirts. Ettlingen town centre was to remain the focal point of local life.

None of the 1,000 residents of the redeveloped area has been forced to move out — neither by the planners nor by high rents in the new apartments.

Shops, offices and housing have been combined to ensure reasonable rents. This mixture has been sustained so [...] sistently that families even live in [...] the *Rathaus*, or town hall.

Powers of planning permission [...] not exercised to ensure that units [...] were in the required design [...] half-timbered).

Instead, the municipality bought the plots that were earmarked for development, planned the projects and sold them.

In Burghausen, on the border between Bavaria and Austria, the *Altstadt*, or [...] diaeval town centre, looked like [...] ing years ago.

Young people and shops moved [...] the *Neustadt*, or new town, where [...] was no shortage of parking lots and [...] cellars and ground floors of river[...] buildings were not flooded every year.

Redeveloping Burghausen proved [...] ticularly difficult because the number [...] buildings listed as historic monuments ruled out ideas that might have cut cost by means of wholesale demolition.

Besides, an embankment had to [...] built to end the flooding, and it m[...] the river side of the little old hou[...] look even more squat, with first-fl[...] windows at ground level.

To restore the old proportions bu[...] ings had an extra storey added on [...] river side, but it was added in such [...] way as to ensure that the town side [...] the buildings looked unchanged.

To upgrade the town centre and [...] 4,000 residents Burghausen decided [...] make extra municipal grants to you[...] families and shopowners who moved [...]

Since 1975 the trend to move out [...] town has been reversed. In Burghausen homes, shops and offices in the *Altstadt* are in brisk demand.

Gerd Rauhaus

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 10 November [...])

PHILOSOPHY

Friends of Schopenhauer gather in suffering

[...] Schopenhauer Society, Germa[...]'s largest philosophical society, [...]ted its 70th anniversary with a [...]ss.

[...] Society, which has been headed [...]thur Hübscher for the past 45 [...] is not restricted to experts but is [...] to all friends of Schopenhauer, and [...]ds of them from all parts of the [...] attended.

[...] the same time, the renowned [...]nhauer Archives of Frankfurt's [...]nd University Library, opened an [...]tion and organised a series of lec[...].

[...]ry director Klaus Dieter Lehmann underscored Schopenhauer's great [...]sophical importance and his time[...] which, he said, was more evident than ever before.

[...]e philosopher's works have been [...]ted into 24 languages, and now he [...]s to be coming at us from the [...]

[...] was the first to break with the [...]ous optimism" in philosophy. It [...] who said that "we are condemn[...] a life of suffering."

[...] is what he ought not to be. [...] personal history is a history of [...]ing.

[...] this "sad realisation" also engend[...]erance "towards the fellow suffe[...] solidarity in misfortune."

[...] Hoffmann, Frankfurt's director [...]ultural affairs, pointed to the great [...]nhauer admirer Max Horkheimer, [...] works tellingly demonstrate the [...] link between enlightenment and [...]kind of reason we find in Schopen[...]'s works which is loath to "come [...]s with any folly."

[...]openhauer is still the most widely [...] philosopher, which proves that "not [...] those who write for fools find their [...]ship."

[...], in any event, is what Schopen[...] once maintained.

[...] Aler of Amsterdam described how [...]ue reader" changes not only him[...] but the book he reads.

[...]oks, he said, are dialogues, and the [...] of them change our lives.

[...]openhauer's world-wide impact is [...]ally due to the fact that his philo[...] is understood as ethics and not [...] as an intellectual impulse.

[...]etzsche called him the "educator" [...] of the most influential philoso[...]. In our era, this applies to Hork[...]er, Wittgenstein, Gehlen and Scheler [...] of whom have been moulded by [...]penhauer.

[...] honest philosophising must not [...] the fact that the world is domi[...] by an insatiable drive of "self-[...]ance."

[...]n so, it is possible to make "con[...] reason" prevail (Horkheimer's dis[...] Alfred Schmidt) and to unmask [...]atics (Wittgenstein).

[...]chopenhauer created a new, realistic [...] of man and thus had a great im[...] on Freud and "philosophical anth[...]ology" as a whole.

[...]is works exerted the greatest effect [...] writers and musicians. In a paper [...] in Frankfurt, Hans Wysling, direc[...] of the Thomas Mann Archives in [...]ich, carefully retraced the effect of [...]openhauer on Thomas Mann's works.

[...] was under the impact of Schopen[...]er that the young Thomas Mann characterised the world as a "mutual erotic deception."

The life of Man's impostor, Felix Krull, rests on lies and deception — but then, life would be insufferable without illusions.

It is here that Thomas Mann's art comes into its own. Thomas Buddenbrook is a typical "hero of weakness" along Schopenhauer lines and a prime example of Thomas Mann's "pessimistic humanism."

Musicians were perhaps even more influenced by Schopenhauer. In fact, no other philosopher is as revered by them.

Music is more direct than language in conveying the "will" and true conditions in the world.

Martin Gregor-Dellin, Munich, drew attention to Schopenhauer's maxim that "music is the melody and the world the text."

Wagner found his ideas about music confirmed by Schopenhauer and adopted the philosopher's "metaphysics of will."

Wagner, Gregor-Dellin told the congress, was happy to be able to admit to himself at last that the world was evil.

Tristan and Isolde seek deliverance in death from the inanity of the world.

In his *Parsifal*, Wagner comes very close to Schopenhauer's ascetic solution.

The philosopher's morality of compassion has had its particular impact on musicians because it is compassion rather than "cold ecstasy" that is at the root of a composition.

Gregor-Dellin cited Gustav Mahler, the "most committed Schopenhauer follower among musicians," who asked himself: "Why have you suffered? Is it all just a horrible joke?"

As Mahler saw it, without answering these questions we cannot go on living nor can we go on dying.

Mahler's own contribution was the "pure, ethereal sound," the calming of our inner drives.

Freny Mistry, an Indian woman, paid tribute to Schopenhauer for having introduced Buddhist ideas to the occident. He saw Buddhism as the confirmation of his philosophy of world-denial.

But the young Indian philosopher also stressed the differences. In her view, Schopenhauer did not lead to wisdom but to resignation. It was impossible, she said, to evolve from Schopenhauer an ethic by which to live.

Schopenhauer's philosophy, she said, was esoteric and meant only for insiders.

This contention was rebutted by many at the congress: businessmen, doctors and lawyers who loved their philosopher because he was so close to life and lucid.

Schopenhauer . . set a vogue

(Photos: Historia)

At the end of the congress, the Society's president, Arthur Hübscher, who is now almost 85, presented "his legacy": The Schopenhauer Society is to continue as a "free circle of friends" based in Frankfurt and generously supported by the city.

To study and disseminate Schopenhauer's philosophy, he said, can play a part in bringing more humanity to an inhuman world.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Rheinische Post, 6 November 1981)

Objection to the Clausewitz formula

"War is the continuation of politics by other means." There is hardly another imaginable maxim whose practical implications are more far-reaching than this tenet of the military writer Carl von Clausewitz.

For this reason and because of the ever present threat of war, the thesis of the famous Prussian reformer has become the most quoted and discussed axiom among historians, politicians and the military.

The 150th anniversary, on 16 November, of the death of the author of *On War* falls in a time in which war — once the "sport of kings" — is only discussed in terms of ways and means of preventing it due to the mass destruction potential of modern weapons.

In some quarters the anniversary will raise the question as to the lasting significance and timeliness of the German military theoretician.

The objection to the Clausewitz formula in today's world is that a nuclear war can no longer be seen as the continuation of politics by other means.

And it is true that Clausewitz's book on war and warfare does not consider the possibility of eliminating all nations. For him, a war was decided by destroying the enemy's armed forces.

But the objection could be countered with the argument that the Clausewitz formula is timely because, after the orgies of violence in two world wars, politics must naturally be given priority in the sense meant by Clausewitz; and war must remain politics "lest it become pointless and devoid of meaning," as he himself put it.

The enormous growth of the destructive potential has given rise to a spirit of moderation because today the threat takes the place of action, and the deterrent that of decision.

But this, in turn, could be countered with the question: if the threat serves no other purpose than to prevent its im-



Carl von Clausewitz . . often quoted

plementation, does that not amount to the paradoxical question as to whether it is possible to live for ever on credit?

Many an interpreter of Clausewitz, for whom military considerations were subordinate to political reason, will naturally say: What should we pin our hopes on if not on reason?

It indeed appears to be the paradox of our era that the very possibility of mass destruction — even without an explicit threat — curtails the actual use of violence.

In retrospect, it can certainly be said that events of the past 150 years would have been less dominated by purely military considertations if politicians in general had abided by the Clausewitz formula.

A German general, Ewald Heinrich von Kleist-Schmenzin, said after the Second World War that the Clausewitz axiom to the effect that political factors are more important than military ones was too little heeded by the Germans in particular.

"The Germans made the mistake of thinking that political problems can be solved by military success. Under the Nazis, we were about to reverse the Clauswitz formula and view peace as a continuation of war."

Curiously, it is the military in particular who differ widely in their interpretations of Clausewitz's works. But this might be due to the fact that *On War* is ambiguous in some places.

Even 100 years after his death, the Clausewitz assessment of the difficulties in conquering Russia proved correct.

He said that Russia was not a country that could be conquered in "formal terms" and that it could only be defeated through internal strife.

Napoleon foundered in 1812 because, according to Clausewitz, "the enemy government remained firm and the people loyal."

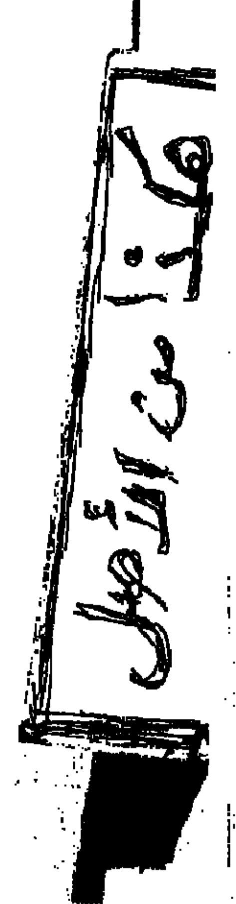
Hitler did not even attempt to make use of the rudiments of internal disunity that had been caused by Stalinist repression.

Clausewitz's most important function in this century was that of the man who played a major role in shaping the Marxist-Leninist theory of war.

This is highlighted by the notes Lenin made on reading *On War*. They show that he studied this classic only in the light of his foremost objective: the proletarian world revolution.

Rudolf Grimm/dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 November 1981)



■ HERITAGE

Historians 'wrong' about doom of the Nibelungs

One standard edition of the *Nibelungenlied*, 27x31 centimetres in format, is eight centimetres thick and weighs four kilograms.

Meticulously edited, it includes the three main manuscripts of the mediaeval epic and copious notes on textual variations.

But that is a mere drop in the ocean compared with the tons of secondary literature written mainly by specialists in Germanic studies to interpret it.

Writers who want to make any impact on this mountain in print must do more than add a few pieces to the mosaic; little short of an avalanche will hit the headlines.

Heinz Ritter, a local historian from Schaumburg, near Rinteln, says the experts have got the story all wrong. Schaumburg borders on Westphalia and it was there, he says, and not in Hungary that the Nibelungs met their doom.

This claim brings to mind the scores of retired teachers in days gone by who spent their declining years trying to prove that the battle in which Arminius defeated the Roman legions of Emperor Augustus took place in their back garden.

In Ritter's case the idea may be less fanciful. Roswitha Wisniewski, a professor of mediaeval German literature at Heidelberg University, feels his work merits serious consideration.

Die Nibelungen zogen nordwärts (The Nibelungs Headed North), his latest book, outlines the results of 20 years of research into the subject.

His aim is merely to identify the historical facts on which the tale is based, but if his theory gains general acceptance current assumptions on how the legend was built up might need revising.

The *Nibelungenlied* is by no means the only mediaeval epic to tell the tale of the Nibelungs. It was put to paper in about 1200, but the story is generally agreed to date back to the post-Roman migration era of the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

The unknown author of the *Nibelungenlied* combined two sagas of Franconian origin which, the experts are convinced, had led a separate existence for centuries.

They were the *Brünhildlied* and the *Burgundensage*. Views differ on whether the former was based on historical events, arguably at the court of the Merovingian kings.

It tells the tale of Siegfried and how he swaps roles to win the proud Brünhilde from King Gunther and how, when the deception comes to light, he is murdered by the king and his brothers.

The latter tells how Kriemhild, Siegfried's widow, marries a King Etzel, who is generally taken to be Attila the Hun, and entices her brothers to visit his court, where they are slaughtered to avenge her late husband.

The *Burgundensage* need not be taken literally. Attila died in 453, whereas Dietrich von Bern, or Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, who is portrayed as living at Attila's court, was not born until three years later.

The saga is generally assumed to be an artistic combination of the defeat of the Burgundians and the death of their king, Gundahar, at the hands of the Huns in 436 and the death of Attila on his wedding night.

Attila died, probably of a burst blood vessel, in the night after his wedding to Hildico, a German princess, and the two tales are felt to have been interwoven.

Versions of both sagas have been handed down since the ninth century, so the *Nibelungenlied* can be seen to have evolved in a variety of complicated ways.

Motives and characteristics continually change, especially where Kriemhild, Hagen and Attila are concerned.

Initially it was Attila who was keen to set hands on the treasure of the Nibelungs and cunningly invited them to visit him and Kriemhild who avenged their death.

In the *Nibelungenlied* Kriemhild is portrayed as a veritable Satan who persuades Attila to wage war and is generally prepared to commit any misdeed.

Versions of the saga that go along these lines have only been preserved in Scandinavian or Icelandic guise. Their Central and Western European counterparts no longer exist.

In thirteenth-century Scandinavia heroic epics of old were particularly popular. In about 1250 the *Thidrekssaga* was compiled in Norway. It is a collection of tales about Dietrich von Bern (or Theodoric of Verona).

It includes, retold at intervals in the narrative, the same tale as the one told in the *Nibelungenlied*, but on a much more modest scale.

The Nibelungs are called Niflungs. They set out with 1,000 men, and not



Hagen statue in Worms . . . new ideas about the Nibelungs. (Photo: Historia)

10,000, as in the *Nibelungenlied*. Their target is not Hungary, the land of the Huns, but Soest, a town in Westphalia.

Their subsequent adversary is not Attila, lord of the Huns, but Attala, the son of a Frisian chieftain.

Experts are not wholly agreed on the origins of the *Thidrekssaga*. Some say both are based on the same source, a twelfth-century tale that has not survived.

Others feel the *Thidrekssaga* is a shorter version of the *Nibelungenlied*, transposed to fit into a Low German background.

In the saga the tale of the fall of the Nibelungs is said to have been told uniformly and independently by German travellers from Soest, Bremen and Münster.

Between them they had related the



story as they had learnt it from old songs in German.

Heinz Ritter's idea is that the *Thidrekssaga* faithfully retells what happened in sixth-century Westphalia, whereas the *Nibelungenlied* mistakenly takes the Niflungs to be the Burgundians.

In reality, he claims, the Nibelungs did not reside in Worms. They never crossed the Danube into the land of the Huns. They never fought Attila.

His argument is based on a remarkable discovery. On their way to the land of the Huns, the saga says, the Niflungs passed a point where the Duna flowed into the Rin, in other words, the confluence of the Rhine and the Danube.

Geographically the two rivers never meet, whereas Ritter has shown that until 1840 a river Dhün flowed into the Rhine north of Leverkusen, near Cologne.

The Dhün was then rerouted into the Wupper. If this part of the original tale makes sense after all, Ritter argues, the rest is worth taking another look at.

He set out on a voyage of discovery backed financially by the North Rhine-Westphalian Ministry of Science and Research. He compared names, checked distances and estimated times.

His conclusion is that the Nibelungs' castle must have been in Virnich, near Zülpich, in the northern Eifel hills. Their name is derived from a river, the Neffel.

Bechelaren Castle, called Bakalar in the *Thidrekssaga*, where Margrave Rüdiger lives is Burg Berge, near Altenburg in the Bergisches Land district.

Both of these places are not far from Bonn.

King Thidrek, who lives in exile with Attala, is, at least as far as the section on the Nibelungs' catastrophe is concerned, not Theodoric the Great but the exiled king of an empire near Bonn.

Bonn was known until the Middle Ages as Bern, or Verona.

Ritter has even unearthed archaeological evidence in support of his theory. Graves have been found both in Zülpich and in Soest that prove both places to have been power centres in the post-Roman migration period.

In Soest there is the grave of a woman whose costly jewels include a brooch with a runic inscription that could, with a little good will, be read as Atalo.

Could it be a parting gift from Attala to Kriemhild after he had had her executed as the instigator of the entire catastrophe?

The final episode of the *Thidrekssaga* does not occur in the *Nibelungenlied*. It tells how Hagen sires a son on the eve of his death who avenges the Nibelungs.

He is bequeathed by Hagen the keys to Siegfried's cellar where the treasure of the Nibelungs is kept. He entices the avaricious Attala to go down into the cellar, locks him in and leaves him to die of hunger.

In 1926, in a rock cave 15 miles from Soest, the remains of a man who had died without being buried were discovered. They may well have dated b[…] the period in question.

Traces of a counterfeiter's wo[…] dating back to the days of the T[…] Years' War were also found. Wa[…] Nibelungs' treasure discovered and[…] ten down alongside Attala's corpse?

It remains to be seen whether the[…] perts will take Ritter seriously enou[…] consider his theory more carefully. […] no coincidence that Professor […] niewski has called on them to do so.

She was a student of the Nib[…] specialist Helmut de Boor. In her […] of the sources of the epic, entitled *Darstellung des Niflungenuntergang[…] der Thidrekssaga*, she tries to prove […] the saga drew on a source it di[…] share with the *Nibelungenlied*.

For anyone who is interested in p[…] logical jigsaw puzzles she tells an i[…] guing story. It is that this other so[…] came from the Soest area but, lik[…] common source, was based on an […] earlier text.

Ritter points out that there is a S[…] dish version of the *Thidrekssaga* in […] tion to the Norwegian one. It is sh[…] and has in the past been dismissed […] late copy of the Norwegian version.

Ritter points out that source r[…] ences differ. The Norwegian version […] it is based on reports by men who […] seen the historical places in Soest b[…] they were destroyed.

The Swedish version says they w[…] unchanged and could still be seen […] their original condition.

Soest was largely rebuilt between 1[…] and 1180, so it seems reasonable to […] sume that the Swedish version may […] earlier than the Norwegian one.

That would date it at around 116[…] 40 years older than the *Nibelungen[…]* Could not the old tales to which the […] ter refers be the main line of oral […] tion recorded in the *Thidrekssaga*?

Has Heinz Ritter said the last w[…] on the fall of the Nibelungs? It rem[…] to be seen. Brünhild, Siegfried, Hag[…] Kriemhild, Gunther and Dietrich […] Bern recur in many mediaeval tales.

Similarities with the Nibelung na[…] tive occur in other mediaeval epics. […] even where a historic person is name[…] the narrative need not be based on re[…] life.

The name may simply have been us[…] to convey an impression of accuracy, […] personalise a myth. That may be w[…] the characteristics of people wh[…] names recur continually change.

This does not, of course, rule out th[…] possibility of one or other of the ve[…] sions that have survived being based o[…] a historic occurrence.

People in the Middle Ages did n[…] draw a clear distinction between fact a[…] fiction. The writer of the *Nibelungenl[…]* will have had no intention of writing […] history textbook.

All he will have had in mind wa[…] tell tales dating back to the post-Rom[…] migration period in a manner suita[…] for his contemporaries.

It remains to be seen how true this […] of the *Thidrekssaga* too.

The Nibelungs' journey from Wor[…] to Esztergom via Pöchlarn and Vie[…] can be reconstructed from the *Nibe[…] genlied*. Yet no-one seriously believe[…] was authentic.

Might it not be the case that th[…] North Germans who related the sto[…] had introduced Westphalian geogra[…] into the narrative to make it more in[…] resting for their listeners?

So there are still many questions to […] answered and loose ends to be tied […] But whatever the results, the exp[…]

Continued on page 13

EDUCATION

Grandpa tells it as it happened

Hannoversche Allgemeine

[…] Hesse school teacher is trying to […] bring history to life for pupils by […]ng grandparents to talk in the class[…].

[…]e idea is the brainchild of Elizza […]össer, a teacher at Christian Wirth […]amtschule (comprehensive) in Usin[…].

[…]e is encouraging her teenage pupils […]k their grandparents to come to the […] and talk about specific events.

[…]e idea has attracted nation-wide […] including television coverage.

[…] began as an experiment, but has […]me officially part of the system be[…] the response has been so favou[…].

[…] all started by chance. Last May, the […] dealt with urban renewal. Frau […]össer decided on the spur of the […]ent that she should take the children […] to town and show them what re[…] was all about.

[…]e 30 boys and girls were looking at […] turn-of-the-century townhouse when […] old lady emerged to sweep the steps.

[…]e walked over and asked the teacher […] whether they wanted to see inside.

Frau Erbstösser jumped at the opportunity. The old lady — it turned out that […] was 86 and owned the house — […]ed a fountain of information.

Back in Usingen, the class wrote a […]k you note, and asked her whether […] would become an "honorary class […]dmother". The idea was that she […]uld attend class from time to time to […]wer questions.

The old lady, Gertrud Rösler-Erhardt, […]epted.

The first topic of discussion was […]chool in the old days" and was meant […] be part of the history lesson, which […]alt with the dismissal of Bismarck.

In the meantime, word about the new approach spread among the parents and one day, when Frau Rösler-Erhardt was in class again, she found to her delight that there were 22 other grandparents willing to relate some of their accumulated wealth of knowledge and experience.

The students were told that, until the outbreak of World War I, priests could draw up school curriculas as they saw fit.

They were told about cane-wielding teachers who inspected fingernails and punished those who did not come up to scratch by caning them on the hand. They also learned of the long autumn holidays so the children help harvest potatoe.

"And you put up with it?" the children wanted to know. The answer from the old people was: "You can hardly imagine how things were back in those days."

The idea behind the project is that children should be able to imagine how it was.

The next topic on the agenda was World War I, when the grandparents told the class how they had to struggle for food and how the war changed an entire way of life.

Just before Christmas, the class will deal with the Weimar Republic and the grandparents will be asked to tell the children how they coped with the economic crisis then.

Elizza Erbstösser: "We'll deal with such specific things as what people ate at Christmas, what presents they gave, whether special poems were recited and how the people coped with inflation."

The grandmothers will bake old-fashioned Christmas biscuits while the grandfathers will describe how they decorated the home.

The subject scheduled for January is the Third Reich.

Just before the children are due to graduate, the parents will also be invited to enable three generations to discuss the effects the programme has had on the students' appreciation of history.

Elizza Erbstösser is confident: "The children have come to realise that history is not something abstract but involves lives and destinies. They no longer yawn."

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 November 1981)

Opinions vary on role of the teacher

Parents and teachers see eye to eye on most issues. But not on what should be a teacher's most important function, according to a study prepared by the Institute for Teacher Training in Mainz.

The survey involved 296 teachers at 12 Rhineland-Palatinate schools and 5,673 parents.

"What do you consider a particularly important function of the teacher?" was one of the questions. Three answers were possible: Conveying knowledge and skills; helping develop the personality; or accurate assessment of a child's performance.

Close to 60 per cent of the teachers ticked "helping develop the personality". "Accurate assessment" was the least important (10 per cent).

The parents' answers were exactly the opposite: 41.1 per cent ticked "Accurate assessment". "Helping develop the personality" was at the bottom with 15 per cent.

A similar difference became evident with the question as to the most important qualities of a teacher where there were 19 possible answers to choose from.

The most prevalent answer among teachers was "teaching ability" while the parents again opted for "justice"; though in this case, justice ranked second with the teachers.

The study concludes that there is a "conflict of roles between teachers and parents that must be discussed and overcome."

One interesting aspect that transpired was that 58 per cent of the parents who wanted to have an active part in the upbringing of their children rather than leaving it to the school belonged to the working class.

(Die Welt, 6 November 1981)

Continued from page 12

should be a little ashamed of themselves.

While they have studied the sources and the vocabulary and examined the *Nibelungenlied* in all manner of ways, including computer concordances, one man, an amateur, has shown the courage of his convictions, spent 20 years studying the subject in his own way and come up with some really new ideas.

Ekkehard Böhm

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 November 1981)

More practical training urged

[…]ll of Germany's ten million school[…] children, should get practical job […]ining, says State Secretary Hermann […]anzow of the Interior Ministry.

Herr Granzow deplores the fact that […]h training is obligatory only for stu[…]nts at comprehensive schools and *[…]auptschule* (secondary school preparing […] the trades) but not for other second[…]ary school students.

"Unfamiliarity with practical work in […] firm must not become a characteristic […] secondary school students," says […]anzow.

A study prepared by a research team […] Dortmund University shows that stu[…]ents, parents, teachers and the business […]mmunity are greatly interested in such […]aining.

But those who took part in such […]aining showed signs of disappointment […] the end of it. The firms that under[…]ook to train students felt that they […]ere left to fend for themselves and the […]udents themselves spoke of lack of […]ork (25 per cent).

The survey also showed shortcomings […] the implementation and evaluation of […] the courses by both schools and com[…]panies.

The companies complained that they were given no advice on what exactly to do with the students during the three or four weeks of on-the-job training.

Only 22 per cent of the respondents among the business community had training schedules, of which 62 per cent were devised by the companies themselves.

The biggest shortcoming, however, lay in the fact that most students were inadequately prepared for such practical work.

Sixty-nine per cent of the respondents in the business community complained about the students' lack of knowledge about the various occupations and 65 per cent deplored the lack of familiarity with safety regulations.

Another major shortcoming was that most teachers were unfamiliar with the realities of work in a business enterprise because they themselves had no first hand experience of it.

But despite all these complaints, very few of those concerned would like to drop on-the-job training; 79 per cent of the parents, 87 per cent of current and 60 per cent of former *Hauptschule* students even asked for longer practical training courses.

Ninety-three per cent of the students rejected any scrapping or shortening of the courses.

The value of such training is demonstrated by the fact that parents and former students say that on-the-job experience ranks second only to instruction in mathematics and German. They consider on-the-job training as an important element of preparation for a working life.

In addition, practical training plays an important role in finding a job.

A further survey shows that every other trainee winds up with a permanent job at the company that trained him.

A. Pieper

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 11 November 1981)

Purging fears through painting

Children can rid themselves of their conscious and unconscious fears by expressing them in paintings and drawings.

Those who are denied an opportunity to express themselves can harm not only themselves, but their environment as well, says Hanna Over, 36, who has opened northern Germany's first studio for expressive painting.

All children should be given an opportunity to express themselves pictorially, she says.

The child sees the painting studio as "a room sealed off from the rest of the world, a protective cave, so to speak," says Frau Over.

The studio enables the children to enjoy what they are doing undisturbed by outside influences.

The idea of expressive painting was first evolved by the Frenchman Arno Stern, who, after the Second World War, took meandering children to his studio and made them paint and express themselves as a way of mastering the chaos and destruction of the war and post-war eras.

Hanna Over herself became a student of Stern disciple Bettina Eggers in whose Zurich studio she did a two-year training course.

Frau Over, herself the mother of three children, does not interfere with her charges' flow of expression. She does not tell them what they should paint but only asks them what they would like to put on paper.

In this way, the children learn to pick their own subjects. Once a picture is finished, Frau Over does not evaluate it because any praise or criticism would only hamper free expression and possibly make the child seek the teacher's praise.

"I rejoice in the children's work along with them instead of smothering them with praise," says Frau Over.

Each child's paintings are collected in a special folder "as a protection for the child" because the pictures are part of the child itself and should therefore not be put up on walls by the parents.

Frau Over also refuses to interpret the pictures. She will never ask a child "what are you painting?"

Children are unable to express in words what flows pictorially.

Adults frequently regard children's paintings as worthless because the child is unable to lecture coherently on his works.

But if adults themselves were to take up painting they would soon realise that this form of expression is an "adventure."

ddp

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 9 November 1981)